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The Oldest Pāli Manuscript

Four Folios of the Vinaya-Piṭaka from the National Archives, Kathmandu (Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde des Pāli II)

von

OSKAR v. HINÜBER

AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN UND DER LITERATUR · MAINZ

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Table of Contents

Palaeographical and philological remarks on the manuscript

The present manuscript has been brought to public attention for the first time by the great pioneer of Nepalese codicology, Cecil Bendall (1856 – 1906), at the 12th International Congress of Orientalists held at Rome in October 1899 as recorded in the minutes: "un MS. Pali, le premier qu'on ait trouvé dans l'Inde proprement dite"[1], where other discoveries made by Pandit Haraprasāda (Hara Prasād Śāstri: 1853 – 1931) are mentioned as well. Thus it is clear only from a second, more detailed communication read at the 13th International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg in September 1902 that Bendall himself found and identified this important fragment: "Note on the history of the Pali canon in Northern India, as illustrated by a fragment of the Vinaya-Piṭaka (from Cullavagga IV. V) of the 9th century A.D."[2]. At the same time this is so far the most careful and comprehensive, though by no means final evaluation of this material unique until today, as no other Pāli manuscript from India proper has been discovered ever since[3], though there are some very few Pāli inscriptions found since Bendall's time[4].

[1] Actes du Douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Rome 1899. Rome 1899, I, p. CLX.

[2] Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses. Hamburg September 1902. Leiden 1904. 58–60.

[3] It should be kept in mind, however, that Bendall might mention further material in Pāli in a very brief letter of 1st January 1899 to the Royal Asiatic Society: C. Bendall: Pāli MSS. in Nepal, JRAS 1899, p. 422: ". . . three palm-leaves in Gupta character, evidently from a large book, and containing an index to some Pāli suttas, and giving the beginning of each sutta in Pāli." These folios, which can hardly be identical with three of the four Vinaya folios, are never again referred to anywhere, it seems. No mention is made of the fragments e.g. in C. Bendall: Nepal MSS. JRAS 1900. 345–347, where the Vinaya fragment is duly referred to on p. 345.

[4] On the epigraphic evidence of Pāli in India: O. v. Hinüber: Epigraphical Varieties of Continental Pāli from Devnimori and Ratnagiri, in: Buddhism and Its Relation to Other Religions: Essays in Honour of Dr. Shozen Kumoi on His Seventieth Birthday. Kyoto 1985, 185–200.

Bendall's discovery has been referred to by L. Finot (1864 – 1935) in his "Legend of Buddhaghosa"[5], and the text of this Vinaya fragment has been published finally by B.V. Bapat (*1894). "A Pali Manuscript in an Indian Script"[6] from photographs he had taken in October/November 1948 when accompanying S. K. Belvalkar (1880 – 1967), who at that time paid a visit to Kathmandu to photograph an old Mahābhārata manuscript[7].

Although Bapat refers to Bendall's article, he does not seem to have had access to it, because he evidently was ignorant of Bendall's explanations e. g. of certain figures, as Bapat's remarks § 10, p. 210 show, or of the reading *aṭṭhāne*, 108a4c found in the manuscript against *aṭṭāne*, Vin II 105,26 pointed out by Bendall and quoted even in the Critical Pāli Dictionary s. v. *aṭṭāna*. Further, quite a few misunderstandings by Bapat of certain details of the Pāli as used in this fragment, which have been referred to wherever necessary, together with the lack of any thorough palaeographical or philological commentary seem to justify a second look at this material.

Finally, though Bapat's article is accompanied by plates in the commendable intention to reproduce the oldest surviving Pāli manuscript, which, at the same time, is highly interesting for the palaeography of Indian scripts not only because it is Pāli and therefore showing certain ligatures not normally found in Sanskrit, but also because of its age, the fragments have been reduced to such a small size that the plates tend to be virtually unreadable at many places. Therefore a better reproduction of these folios seemed to be desirable as well.

This can be provided for today without much effort thanks to the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP)[8], which has microfilmed these folios among other treasures from what is today the National Archives in Kathmandu. I am deeply obliged to this institution for granting

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[5] Journal of the Department of Letters. University of Calcutta. 11. 1924, 65–86 on p. 81. This is a translation by P. C. Bagchi (1898–1956) from the French original: La Légende de Buddhaghosa, in: Cinquantenaire de l'École des Hautes Études. Paris 1921, 101–119.

[6] ABORI 33.1952, 197–210. This article is based on a communication to the 15th All-India Oriental Conference in Bombay 1949, see p. 197, footnote *). This article is referred to as "Bapat".

[7] This is manuscript V_1 containing the Maithilī (Videha) version of the Śāntiparvan dated 1516. One folio can be seen on the frontispiece to volume 16, Śāntiparvan III B of the critical edition.

[8] Progress reports of this project have been listed in: A. Wezler und B. Kölver: Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung in Nepal. Bericht über das "Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project" sowie den "Schwerpunkt Nepal-Forschung". ZDMG 136.1986, *2*–*14*.

permission to make use of this material, and to my friends A. Wezler, Hamburg, and B. Kölver, Kiel, for technical assistance in providing the microfilm, from which the manuscript has been reproduced here.

The fragments have been microfilmed twice by the NGMPP on reel no. A 39 and again on reel no. A 1151/2, on which the present reproduction of these palm-leaves is based. The index-card accompanying the microfilm provides the following information:

Short title: Pālibhāṣāyāṃ vinaya/prakīrṇa
Rāṣṭrābhilekhālaya ms. no. 3 – 737
Subject: Bauddhadarśana vividha
Number of leaves: 4; seize: 48,5 x 4,5 cm
Reel no. A 1151/2; Script: Guptākṣara
Palm leaf, damaged

The title given here is derived from a remark by a modern hand in Nāgarī written on folio 107a probably after the text had been identified by Bendall. The fragment is listed by R. Grünendahl as no. 1059[9].

Generally, there is no difficulty in reading the text with the only exception of folio 106a, the left column of which has been rubbed off almost completely, leaving only effaced *akṣaras* visible on the photo. Other folios are only slightly damaged with little loss of text at the left or right ends. As the bottoms of some folios (recto) have not been trimmed carefully, their slightly oval shape allows for abbreviated lines only, what has been indicated by wavy lines transcribed here by three dashes.

The fragment has been dated by Bendall to the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century AD. Consequently this manuscript is older than any described and illustrated in C. Bendall: Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge. Cambridge 1883. It has been found by Bendall in December 1898[10] in a bundle containing miscellaneous old folios among them the large fragment of a late Gupta

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[9] R. Grünendahl: A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and the Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, printed as an introduction to the reprint of: Hara Prasād Śāstri: A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper MSS. Belonging to the Durbar Library Nepal, Vol. I and II. Stuttgart 1989. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Supplementband 31 = Publications of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project 1. The fragment is not listed in: H. Takaoka: A Microfilm Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts in Nepal. Vol. I Kyoto 1981.

[10] According to: C. Bendall: Fragment of a Buddhist Ordination-Ritual in Sanskrit, in: Album Kern. Opstellen geschreven ter eere van Dr. H. Kern. Leiden 1903, 373–376 accompanied by two plates.

Daśabhūmīśvara and at least one folio written in a script so very similar to that of the Vinaya fragment that, at a first glance, it may be taken as copied even by the same hand, though a second look proves otherwise[11]. For some *akṣaras* on this folio edited by L. de La Vallée Poussin[12] are clearly distinct from those of the Vinaya fragment such as *tha*, *ha*, or *i*–, which is written with a small triangular dot on top, while in the Vallée Poussin fragment the upper dot resembles a minute Tibetan superscript –*o*–. The shape of *ā*– also differs: In the Vinaya fragment two forms of this *akṣara* are used, which may be compared conveniently in *āpatti āyasmantānaṃ*, 107a3b, the one in *āyasmantānaṃ* being the standard form of this manuscript, and only this latter shape is met with in the Vallée Poussin fragment. Similarly, there are two different forms of the *akṣara ṇa* occurring in the Vinaya fragment, the older one being similar to the one in Bendall's "Table of Letters" in his catalogue of 1883 used in ms. no. 1702, e. g. in *okaraṇaṃ*, 106b2b, and a more recent form resembling the one in ms. no. 1049, found in the Vinaya fragment e.g. in *tiṇa*; the younger one has not been used by the scribe of the Vallée Poussin fragment. It is, however, the form of *ṇa* found in the fragment edited by Bendall 1903 (see note 10).

Without going further into details of palaeography this is sufficient to show that the Vinaya fragment is probably slightly younger than the Vallée Poussin fragment, and that it has been copied obviously during a transitionary period from one type of script to another, since alternative forms of certain *akṣaras* appear side by side in the same manuscript. This can be observed also elsewhere e. g. at the time, when the younger proto-*śāradā* replaces the earlier round Gilgit script. Here the old tripartite *ya* continues to be used in combination with certain vowels, while the more recent form of that *akṣara* occurs as well[13].

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[11] It is impossible at present to connect this folio and the one just mentioned in note 10 to H. P. Śāstri's description of "Bendall's Puka" in his catalogue, see note 9 above, II p. 246–248. – Some valuable work on these and other fragments has been done recently by Kazunobu Matsuda, who was kind enough to send me a copy of his abstract "Newly identified Buddhist-Sanskrit fragments in the collection of the National Archives, Kathmandu: An investigation of the oldest palm-leaf manuscripts from the Nepal region". It is to be hoped that this important paper will be published in full soon.

[12] L. de La Vallée Poussin: MSS. C. Bendall, JRAS 1907, 375–379, two plates. The beginning of this folio contains a text parallel to the Soṇasutta, SN III 48, 6–50, 10.

[13] A systematic investigation into the distribution of both shapes of the *akṣara ya* would probably yield results helpful to establish a relative chronology of the respective Gilgit manuscripts.

The *pṛṣṭhamātrā* form clearly prevails when vowels are written, and only occasionally – *e* – and – *o* – are marked according to the well known system of later scripts such as Devanāgarī, cf.: *pāmaṃko* 108b6b or *saṃghāṭikāyo*, 124a3a; both forms of – *e* – occur side by side in *samathehi* ... *samathena*, 107b4a.

Rarely the interpretation of *akṣaras* is not beyond doubt. The shape of *ña* in *raṃño*, 124b2a, 124b2c, *aṃñatarassa*, 124b6b and in *kathaṃñ hi*, 107b5a, 108a1c differs from the one used else where. Therefore this cannot be ruled out to be the simple *ña*, while everywhere else including e.g. *ññāpetavvā*, 106a3b or *ññatti*, 107a5c double *ñña* may have been intended by the scribe. Consequently it seemed advisable to transcribe *ñña* throughout.

A further difficulty has been pointed out by Bapat already. There are some miniature *akṣaras* the meaning of which cannot always be established. Some are certainly „final" *anusvāras*. They bear some resemblance to the corresponding characters found in the Gilgit manuscripts, although they are different in shape from the one occurring in *parijñātuṁ*, Vallée Poussin fragment, verso 7c[14]. In the Gilgit manuscripts, however, these *anusvāras* are restricted to the end of a word often also marking the end of a sentence. In the Vinaya fragment they are found at the end of a word in *kāyaṁ ugghaṃsanti*, 108a3b before a following vowel, or at the end of a sentence *dhāretavvaṁ*, 108b6b. However, they also occur within a word in *ugghaṁsanti*, 108a1b, and worse and without any possible explanation, in *vigaṁyha*, 108b1c for *vigayha*, further in *saṁyena*, 124a2c and perhaps in *saṁmayena*, 124b3b, which could be read as an equally enigmatical *sa2mayena* as well, both for *samayena*.

Although an *akṣara ba* is available in this script as demonstrated by numerous occurrences of the word *brāhmaṇā* in the Vallée Poussin fragment such as ... *brāhmaṇā vā*, recto 1a, or *bāhyaṃ*, recto 7b, it is, strangely enough, not used by the scribe of the Vinaya fragment, who prefers *vahū*, 106b3b or *ññāpetavvo*, 107a2b, what results in a Pāli looking quite unfamiliar[15].

On the other hand there is surprisingly enough an *akṣara* generally supposed to have fallen into disuse in Northern India centuries before the

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[14] In *nānyaxtra*, Vallée Poussin fragment recto 4b (beginning) *x* stands for an unexplained miniature *akṣara*. It may be noted that a rare *virāma* occurs in this fragment at the end of *samyak'*, recto 7a (middle), which is written as a horizontal stroke underneath the *akṣara* concerned.

[15] A corresponding orthography is known, however rarely, from South East Asian Pāli: O. v. Hinüber: Epigraphical Varieties, as note 4 above, p. 186.

Vinaya fragment has been copied, namely *ḷa*[16], found e.g. in *vāḷatāya*, 106b5c against *vālatāya*, 106b4b. The shape of this *ḷa* remains virtually unchanged from the one known from the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā thought to have been copied during the Kuṣāṇa period[17]. Strange mistakes such as *kakkhaṅgatā* or perhaps *kakkhadgatā*, 107a3a for the correct *kakkhaḷatā*, 107a1b seem to indicate that the scribe did not really understand the meaning of *ḷa*, which he could not, in all probability, know from the alphabet he had learned. If so, the scribe copied a manuscript fairly old at his times by just imitating this strange letter, which could have reminded him of *dṛ*, almost identical in shape as can be seen in *sadṛśā* Vallée Poussin fragment recto 4a. At times it rather seemed like *ṅga/dga* to him. The astonishing transformation of *veḷumaya* into *veḍḍumaya*, 124a4c may have been caused by similar reasons. The deformed and meaningless *akṣara* between *yā ca* and *attano*, 107a5a (at the end), on the other hand, cannot be explained.

Further *ūrumbi vābambi ūrum(!) ⟪pī⟫ piṭṭhiṃ pī ti*, 107b6b can be explained perhaps as some confusion caused by the ligature *mpa* being not too distinct from *mba* in an alphabet of the Gupta period, in which *ba* and *pa* as subscripts are not very different from each other.[18] This mistake again could point to an original copied at a time, when its script was no longer familiar to the copyist in every detail.

Other errors could indicate the scribe was more at home with Sanskrit than with Pāli. For he unconsciously applied rules of Sanskrit phonetics, orthography or morphology alien to Pāli. Thus he wrote *pudgala*°, 106b2a for *puggala* once, and applied the rules for cerebralisation in writing inadvertently °*patthārakeṇa*, 106b3a, 107b1b. Finally in *kāyavandhane ti*, 124a1a for °*vandhanāni* a neuter dual is introduced into Pāli.

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[16] H. Lüders: Zur Geschichte des *l* im Altindischen. 1923. Philologica Indica. Göttingen 1940, 546–561: "Die nordindischen Schreiber kennen aber das Zeichen für das *ḷa* gar nicht mehr", p. 548; ". . . das *ḷ* im Sanskrit im Norden noch bis gegen das Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts gebraucht wurde", p. 550, and, following Lüders, S. M. Katre: On the History of *ḷ* in Pāli, in: B. C. Law Volume II. Poona 1946, 22–34. Both overlooked Bendall's statement of 1902 (1904), p. 58: "The lingual *ḷa (ḷa)* is freely though somewhat carelessly used".

[17] H. Lüders: Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta. Leipzig 1926. Repr. as: Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, Band 1. Wiesbaden 1979, p. 338 „Schrifttafel". – L. Sander: Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung. Wiesbaden 1968 notes *ḷa* up to the 4th century AD (alphabet „h") and in early Turkestan Brāhmī (alphabet „r").

[18] L. Sander, as in the preceding note, e.g. alphabets "e–k", cf. *mpa* on Tafel 6 (Kuṣāṇa period).

Unfortunately it is impossible to decide, whether or not *śākya*°, 107b5a is a further Sanskritism, or whether this word should be read as *sākya*° rather. Even by comparing e.g. *śirasā*, Vallée Poussin fragment verso 3b (beginning) this cannot be decided without inspecting the original manuscript. Still another possible semi-Sanskritism may be *grihi*° *(!)*, 107a2a, most probably written here for *gihi*°. For the loop at the foot of the long vertical stroke is hardly accidental when comparing the *akṣara gṛ* in *rājagṛhe*, Vallée Poussin fragment verso 3b, *gṛhapati*°, verso 4b etc. On the other hand, this strange hybrid form blending Sanskrit and Middle Indic would correspond to *kṛī-tah*, B folio 57b7 or *kṛīḍāya*, A folio 88b3 in the Gilgit manuscripts of the Saṃghāṭasūtra kept at Srinagar and therefore not included in Lokesh Chandra's Facsimile Edition.

There is one instance, where the manuscript could have been corrected by a second hand, as *– dā –* in *vivādā*°, 107a6a has been added below the line, what, however, could have been done by the scribe himself as well, who corrected some mistakes immediately, if perceived at once while copying, deleting erroneous *akṣaras* by putting two small dots or strokes on top of them. Frequently the cause of these mistakes is evident. The scribe's eyes leapt backwards when reading the original as in *yo naha* <*yo*> *yeyya*, 108a6c or forwards as in <*na*> *yo nahayeyya*, 108b2b. Other mistakes escaped his attention as *iyaṃ itthaṃnāmo*, 106a3b, again due to the same inadvertence just mentioned, or *yathāparesaṃ*, 107a4a for *athā*°, or *ārocesuṃsi(!)*, 124a3b for *ārocesi* because of the more usual plural form in these passages. In the same way *suṇātu me āyasmantā*, 106a3b, 107a2b may be caused by a confusion with *suṇātu ... saṃgho* rather than phonetically[19]. There does not seem to be any obvious explanation for *catukaṇḍākaṃ*, 124a7c for °*kaṇṇakaṃ*, Vin II 137,6. Further *nahayamānā tthambhe*, 108a1b is noteworthy in contrast to standard Pāli orthography *thambhe*, cf. 108a2c.

Other differences from Oldenberg's text (E^e) or orthographical peculiarities of the Nepalese fragment can be explained within the frame of Pāli. The following instances leaving out minor points may be enumerated here:

1. The Nepalese fragment has mostly *bhaṃte* instead of *bhante*.
2. The *– ī* in *cvi*-formations[20] is always short: *uttānikaroti*, 106a3c. In the

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[19] O. v. Hinüber: Das buddhistische Recht und die Phonetik des Pāli. StII 13/14 (Festschrift W. Rau). 1987, 101–127, p. 120foll.

[20] On the recent discussion of this formation: B. Schlerath: Nochmals zu den *cvi*-Bildungen, in: Studia Indogermanica et Slavica. Festgabe für Werner Thomas zum 65. Geburtstag. München 1988, 38–47, and on traces in modern Indo-Aryan languages: H. Berger: Die mit *– ar –* erweiterten Verben des Shina. WZKSO 5.1961, 53–67.

same way -*ī* and -*ū* at the end of a word as in the nominatives and accusatives plural *gihī* or *bhikkhū* have been shortened to *gihi* and *bhikkhu* with rare exceptions, e.g.: *bhikkhū*, 107b4c. Conversely in *vahū assāmaṇakaṃ*, 106b3b *vahū* stands for *vahu*, where E[c] has the alternative form *vahuṃ*.[21] The shapes of -*i*- : -*ī*- and -*u*- : -*ū*- are quite distinct: *āpattīhi*, 106b4a and *bhikkhūnaṃ*, 106a2c.

3. Against E[c] *khīyati* the Nepalese fragment has *khiyyati* and correspondingly *thulla*° for *thūla*°.

4. A variant, which seems to be alien to the Pāli manuscript tradition in the south, is *aṃññamaṃñña*, 106b4a and *aṃññatara*, 108b3b regularly written with an *anusvāra*, cf. °*paṭisaṃññutta*, 107a3c or *kathaṃñ hi*, 107b5a in contrast to *evaṃ ca*, 106b4c or *evaṃ ce*, 106a2b.

5. There is an irregular variation between *ukoṭeti*, 106b2b and *ukkoṭanaka*, ibidem, as usual also in southern Pāli manuscripts.

6. While *evaṃ assu*, 106a3a has been separated by the use of the *anusvāra*, *bhattam assa*, 124b4a, *evam etaṃ*, 107b1a, or *etam atthaṃ*, 107b5c are always united as in E[c].

7. *upāgamana*°, *ajjhupāgamana*° stand for E[c] *upaga*°; forms of these words containing an -*ā*- have been thought to be restricted to verses and considered as metrical variants in the Critical Pāli Dictionary s.vv.

8. Side by side with *tiṇavatthāraka*, 106b4c, 107a7a etc. also *tiṇapatthāraka*, 106b6a 107a7b etc. occurs no less frequently, though the latter is not found in "insular" Pāli.[22] In spite of the fact that this interchange between -*v*- and -*p*- can be observed elsewhere in Pāli under conditions unknown, this new variant containing a -*p*-, which, though it need not be old, draws the attention to the possibility that the traditional explanation of this word as *tiṇ'avatthāraka* proposed e.g. by H. Smith, Sadd index s.v. and supported even by *tiṇehi avattharitvā*, Sp 1193,27[23], is not necessarily correct. For *tiṇapatthāraka*, even if introduced at a relatively late date, besides *tiṇavatthāraka* corresponds to doublets such as *huveyya*, MN I 171,16: *hupeyya*, Vin I 8,30 (Mittelindisch § 181). This together with the short -*a*- certainly favours the assumption that this legal term has been coined in Eastern

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[21] On the interchange of *i* : *ī* and *u* : *ū*: O. v. Hinüber: Recht und Phonetik, as note 19 above, p. 120.

[22] On "insular" and "continental" Pāli: O. v. Hinüber: Notes on the Pāli Tradition in Burma. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Phil.-Hist. Klasse Jg. 1983, Nr. 3, p. 15 note 36, and O. v. Hinüber: Epigraphical Varieties, as note 4 above, p. 185 foll.

[23] Thus E[c], B[c] 1956, C[c] 1900, but by obvious mistake *attharitvā*, Vin II 314,1.

India as **tiṇav/patthālaka*. Consequently the Mūlasarvāstivādins were probably right in Sanskritising the word as *tṛṇaprastāraka*, BHSD s.v., Adhikaraṇavastu, 108,7 foll.[24] and Mahāvyutpatti no. 8636. Additional support may be derived from the extreme scarcity of *avastāra* in Sanskrit compared to the common *prastāra*.

Thus *tiṇavatthāraka* < *tṛṇaprastāraka* might well be an old eastern legal term comparable to e.g. *sammannati*, which is hardly based on *saṃmanute* as generally assumed. For this would isolate this derivation from *man* from all others, which without exception derive from *manyate*. Also the complete lack of any trace of **saṃmanuti* etc. in Pāli in contrast to *karoti* : *kubbati* would be astonishing. Thus it may be easier to explain *saṃmannati* as an old eastern form with a regular eastern development of -*ññ*- > -*nn*- (Mittelindisch § 16, 72, 75). This is all the more likely as *saṃmannati* is the only derivative of *man* found in the inventory of old legal formulas used by the Buddhists such as: *saṃgho etehi nimittehi sīmaṃ sammanneyya*, Vin I 106,11.

In the same way as *tiṇapatthāraka* other single words found in the Nepalese Vinaya fragment are worth while commenting on. First it may be noteworthy that *nahayati* miswritten thrice in a sequence, when it occurs first: *nahayānā*, 107b4c, *nahamānā*, 107b5b, and *nayahayamānā*, 107b6b for *nahāyamānā* shows a strange short -*a*- : *nahayamānena*, 108a1a foll. regularly instead of *nahāyamānena* usual elsewhere in Pāli. No obvious reason presents itself to explain this shortening not shared by modern Indo-Aryan languages, which normally preserve the long vowel of Sanskrit *snāti*.[25]

The most difficult word in the Vinaya passage preserved in this fragment is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Pāli, which is found in this fragment in three surprising new variants: *gāmaphoḍava*, 107b5b, *gāmahoḍaka*, 108a2a and *gāmapoṭava*, 108a3c, in which *pha*: *ha* may be due at least partly to a confusion between these not altogether dissimilar *akṣaras* in the original the scribe had before him.[26]

This word is used to describe the misbehaviour of the notorious group of six monks, who, while bathing, rub their backs etc. against a tree, a post, or a wall just as *mallamuṭṭhikā gāmapoddavā*, Vin II 105,7. Together with those quoted above the following variants are found:

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[24] The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu. Ed. by R. Gnoli. Rome 1978. Serie Orientale Roma 50.

[25] R. L. Turner: A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. London 1966, no. 13 786 *snāti*, cf. also Addenda et Corrigenda, ed. by J. C. Wright. London 1985, no. 13 786.

[26] Sander: Paläographisches, as note 17 above, Tafel 10.

gāma-phoḍava
-poṭava } Nepalese fragment
-hoḍaka
-poddava, E^c = C^c 1933 = C^c 1963 (SHB)
-pūṭava, S^c 1980: v.l. *-moddava*, Burm., *-poddava*, E^c
-moddava, B^c 1956 (Vin IV 239,8): v. l. *-poddava*, sī, *-pūt(!)ava*, syā
-pūṭava, Sp 1199, 15 (E^c, v. l.: *-muddava*, Bp)
-muddava, Sp B^c 1956 (Sp IV 44,3): v.l. *gāmupaddava*, sī; *-pūd(!)ava*, syā
gāmupaddava, Sp C^c 1900
kāmapudava, Sp in E^c Vin II 315,24 (Burmese manuscript[27]).

Further there are the following *pāṭha* quoted in the Samantapāsādikā: *- potaka*, E^c, *- moddava*, B^c, *-poddava*, C^c.

The meanings attributed to this word "a shampooer(?)" in the PED[28] or "young villagers", I. B. Horner, are admittedly no more than guesses. The traditional opinion on this word as found in the Samantapāsādikā does not prove helpful either: *chavirāgamaṇḍanānuyuttā nāgarikamanussā, gāmapotakā ti pi pāṭho: es' ev' attho*, Sp 1199, 15 foll. „elegant people addicted to colour decorations on their skin(??); variant: *gāmapotaka*, with exactly the same meaning." Nothing on this word is found in the subcommentaries: Vajirabuddhiṭīkā, Sāratthadīpanī, Vimativinodanī or Samantapāsādikāatthayojanā.

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[27] H. Oldenberg has used two complete Burmese manuscripts for his edition of the Cullavagga. They have been described carefully in the meantime by H. Bechert and others: Burmese Manuscripts. Part I. Wiesbaden 1979. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XXIII, 1, no. 55: Oldenberg's D containing the Samantapāsādikā written in AD 1851, and no. 54: Oldenberg's C. This manuscript has been copied AD 1763, as the date of the colophon CS 125 most probably has to be understood as CS 1125, as a missing figure of the millennium is not rare in Northern Thai manuscripts, which are near to Burmese traditions. In the catalogue the figure has been supplemented by a zero at the end resulting in AD 1888, though Vin II (E^c) was printed already in 1880(!). There is no cyclical year to corroborate either figure.

[28] In the PED no motivation for proposing this meaning is given, which can be traced back to T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg: Vinaya Texts. Oxford 1885 (Reprint Delhi 1965). Sacred Books of the East Volume XX. Vol. III p. 66. It may be worth while to draw attention to E. Thurston, K. Rangachari: Castes and Tribes of Southern India. Vol. II. 1909 (Reprint Delhi 1987), p. 456 s. v. Jetti: "A Telugu caste of professional wrestlers and gymnasts, who, in the Telugu districts, shampoo and rub in ointments to cure nerve pains and other disorders". – Kern: Toevoegselen I p. 127 conjectures "petit maître" and says: "ik weet den term niet te ontleden".

A fanciful explanation from an otherwise unspecified Cūḷavaggagaṇṭhi is quoted in the Pāli-Burmese Dictionary[29]: *attano attabhāvaṃ punanti sodhentī ti pudavā. puṃ nirayaṃ davanti gacchantī ti pudavā. pūtisaṅkhātaṃ āhāraṃ adanti bhakkhantī ti pūdavā. nāgarikamanussānaṃ yebhuyyena sucibhāvato pātubhāvena davanti paribhāsantī ti pudavā* "*pudava* means: they clean themselves; *pudava* means they run, go to hell[30]; *pūdava* means: they eat food called 'rotten'; *pudava* means: they jeer (cf. *davāya* "for fun"?) because elegant people mostly can be recognized because of their cleanlines (??)". The last explanations echoes the Samantapāsādikā, which, however, might mean something different, perhaps: people embellish their bodies by putting colours on it and remove that again by rubbing their bodies against trees etc. at the time of bathing. Obviously this would not really fit the context of the Vinaya passage, as no immediate connection to *mallamuṭṭhika* can be discerned in this explanation. Further, *nāgarika* in the commentaries does not go together well with *gāma°* in the text. Therefore *kāma°* in Oldenberg's Burmese manuscript standing out alone against an otherwise uniform tradition having *gāma°*, may have been invented as an attempt to avoid the contradiciton *gāma°*: *nāgarika*, if it has not been influenced by the frequent formula *gihī kāmabhogino*.

As long as the meaning of the word *gāmaphoḍava* etc. still has to be ascertained and as long as not even a clue to any probable interpretation has been found, it is impossible to decide which, if any, variant has to be preferred as the correct one or at least as near to it. Thus H. Smith's pessimism may be well justified, when he considers both, *°potaka* and *°podava* as wrong readings in Sadd index s.v. *gāma*.

However, as the Nepalese fragment introduces some new features of the manuscript tradition concerning this word, a fresh look at the material may be worth while. For the first time *pha* appears at the beginning, which may be a better reading considering the occasional loss of aspiration in the text tradition especially in South East Asia or in clusters even in the whole Pāli tradition as e.g. in *app(h)oṭ(h)eti*, CPD s.v. On the other hand *ha* may be disregarded as an error of the scribe as pointed out already, and *ma*, when it appears in the Burmese tradition, is hardly a variant deserving serious consideration. The first vowel is confirmed now as *o* rather than *ū*, and the second consonant most probably as a simple unaspirate cerebral that is *ṭa* or

[29] Tipiṭaka Pāli Mranmā Abhidhān. Vol. II. Rangoon 1973.

[30] On the well known *puṃ* : *niraya*: R. Gombrich: Two Notes on Visuddhimagga IX: 1. The etymology of *puggala*. JPTS 12.1988, 169–171.

da agreeing with – *ṭa* – in S^{c}. Thus taking into account the whole manuscript tradition as available now, one might favour a reading *phoḍava/phoṭava*, unless a split tradition is assumed with *poddava* in the south and a then purely accidental – *ṭa* – in the Siamese tradition, and *phoḍava* in the north[31].

As the context of the passage, in which *gāmaphoḍava* is found, is not sufficient to find the meaning of this word, the following considerations might lead towards a solution of this problem of vocabulary[32]. The whole expression *mallamuṭṭhikā gāmaphoḍavā* occurs in a formula typical to the Theravāda-Vinaya, it seems, where normally *gihī kāmabhogino* and rarely other social groups such as *raṃño muṇḍavaṭṭī*, 124b2a = Vin II 137,17 (E^{c} °*vaṭṭi*), *titthiyā*, Vin II 114,35 or *pisācillikā*, Vin II 115,9 are mentioned, if the group of six monks behaves wrongly in such a way that they do things improper for monks and not just typical for any householder. Thus rubbing of the back etc. seems to have been practiced by *mallamuṭṭhika* "wrestlers and boxers", if considered as a *dvandva*-compound, and if these two kinds of sport have been distinguished in ancient India and not just taken as one: *muṭṭhikā ti mallā*, Ja VI 277,10'. The Samantapāsādikā explains: *mallamuṭṭhikā ti muṭṭhikamallā*, Sp 1199,14, and indeed this sequence of members in this compound is preferred in later Pāli as in: *na madāyā ti na muṭṭhikamallā viya madatthaṃ*, Vism 31,33 (on MN I 10, 9), on which the Paramatthamañjūsā remarks: *muṭṭhikamallā muṭṭhiyuddhayujjhanakā, ādisaddena nibbuddhayujjhanakādīnaṃ*[33] *gahaṇaṃ*, Vism-mhṭ (N^{c} 1969) I 86,15foll. "*muṭṭhikamalla* [means] fighters of a boxing contest; by the word "etc." fighters of a wres-

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[31] On traces of different traditions in Pāli: O. v. Hinüber: Die Sprachgeschichte des Pāli im Spiegel der südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jg. 1988, Nr. 8, p. 27 and note 90, cf. also CPD s.v. *anālhiya* and *anuyutta* 2. with Burmese reading *anuyanta*.

[32] The difficulty of the problem is underlined by the fact that only very few of the prerequisites necessary for a successful investigation of this kind can be met, cf.: K. Hoffmann und E. Tichy: „Checkliste" zur Aufstellung bzw. Beurteilung etymologischer Deutungen, Anhang II to: M. Mayrhofer: Zur Gestaltung des etymologischen Wörterbuches einer Grosscorpus-Sprache. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 368. Band. Wien 1980.

[33] The unusual development of *niyuddha* >Pāli *nibbuddha* (Mittelindisch § 216) points to the technical language used by wrestlers, cf. Thurston, as note 28 above, p. 460 on *mallabhāṣā*. – Boxing and wrestling are distinguished in … *daṇḍayuddhaṃ muṭṭhiyuddhaṃ nibbuddhaṃ* …, DN I 65,18 cf. Vin II 10,28.

tling contest are included". Thus this word was understood at the time of the commentary as a *karmadhāraya* rather than as a *dvandva* compound.

The sequence *mallamuṭṭhika*, however, is an old one in this compound as can be seen from Jaina sources: *naḍa-naṭṭaga-jalla-malla-muṭṭhiya-velambaga-kahaga°*, Aupapātikasūtra, ed. E. Leumann, AKM VIII 2. 1883, § 1 in a description of the town Campā, found again in Bhadrabāhu: Kalpasūtra, ed. H. Jacobi, AKM VII 1.1879, § 100 in a description of the town Kuṇḍapura, cf. Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ 9.10 etc. "actors, dancers, acrobats(?)[34], wrestlers, boxers, jesters(?), story-tellers . . .". This formula seems to be echoed by: *tatra mallā naṭā jhallāḥ sūtā vaitālikās tathā*, Mahābhārata 2.4.5, cf. Manu X 22 and XII 45 with a conspicuous absence of *muṣṭika* in all three references. The reason seems to be that *muṣṭika* has developed into a personal name in Sanskrit. Muṣṭika together with Cāṇura is one of the well known wrestlers killed by Kṛṣṇa before destroying their overlord Kaṃsa.

This episode related briefly e.g. in the Brahmapurāṇa 193, 50 – 66[35] and at some length in the Harivaṃśapurāṇa chapter 75 is also known to the Theravāda tradition: In the Ghatajātaka Baladeva kills Cān(!)ura and Muṭṭhika, Ja IV 81,21 – 82,14, where the latter is called Muṭṭhikamalla. The popularity of this story, perhaps first of all among wrestlers, is further underlined by weights evidently used for athletic exercise, on which it has been depicted. One of them produced in Gandhāra and dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD may be the oldest datable evidence of this story, if the Harivaṃśa can be ascribed to the 5th century AD[36]. The wrestlers are shown on this weight in a fighting pose and wearing their typical loin cloth called *saṃvelli*, 124b1c =

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[34] On *jalla* "tightrope walker": M. Mayrhofer: Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. I. Heidelberg 1956, s. v. *jhalla*; Nīlakaṇṭha on Mhbh 2.4.5 explains *jhalla* as *lakuṭayodhin*. – In Pāli *jalla* occurs once in the description of the *manohara* jewel, hardly by chance in the sequence: *laṃghika, muṭṭhika, māyākara, sobhiya, vetālaka, jalla, . . . malla*, Ja VI 277, 7*–17*, where the prose formula seems to have been enlarged and adopted to versification.

[35] Quoted according to the standard edition: P. Schreiner and R. Söhnen: Sanskrit Indices and Text of the Brahmapurāṇa. Wiesbaden 1987, and by the same: Brahmapurāṇa. Summary of Contents, with Index of Names and Motifs. Wiesbaden 1989. These books are Vol. I and II of the Purāṇa Research Publications Tübingen.

[36] P. Schreiner: Purāṇische Stotras im Vergleich, in: XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 26. bis 30. September 1988 in Köln. Ausgewählte Vorträge. ZDMG Supplement VIII. Stuttgart 1990, 426–441, Appendix 1, cf. also: H. Brinkhaus: Zur Entstehung und textgeschichtlichen Entwicklung des Harivaṃśa, ibidem 415–425.

Vin II 137,16.18, as said in the Samantapāsādikā to be worn by *malla-kamma-kara-ādi*, Sp 1212,15, cf. Ja V 306,6*[37].

Although it is clear from the Harivaṃśa, which contains many interesting details, that this contest is a combination of both, wrestling and boxing: *tāv ubhau saṃśliṣṭau*, 75,31(v.l.), *dorbhyām ānamya … cāṇuraṃ … prāharan muṣṭinā mūrdhni …, niḥsṛte sāśrurudhire tasya netre sabandhane, tāpanīye yathā ghaṇṭe kakṣyopari vilambite*, 75,42 foll. "having bent down Cāṇura with both arms he hit his head with his fist, [and] the eyes with tears and blood sprang out hanging down on their cord upon his belt like two golden bells[38]". The vocabulary used in this description does not provide any conclusive hint about the meaning of *gāmaphoḍava* nor to any rubbing of the body by wrestlers.

Unfortunately the same is true for texts dealing with wrestling such as Agnipurāṇa 252, 24–30, Someśvara's Mānasollāsa 4.6. 79 - 96 (GOS 84.1939) composed in the 12th century or the perhaps still later Mallapurāṇa[39]. Muṣṭika occurs as a personal name "the wrestler Muṣṭika", Mallapurāṇa II 41, while there is no *muṣṭika* "boxer". Therefore the latter word may have fallen into disuse once the compound *malla-muṣṭika* originally designating "wrestlers and boxers" had been adopted from the Prakrit in the

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[37] S. J. Czuma: Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India. Cleveland 1985, no. 81, p. 163 and on further material: J. Lohuizen – de Leeuw as quoted there. The inscription on this weight published upside down by Czuma, reads correctly: *śrī dāmaphar(r)asya* thus pointing to an Iranian wrestler, who owned this weight, cf. O. v. Hinüber: Zu einigen Namen und Titeln aus Brāhmī-Inschriften am oberen Indus, in: Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach. München 1986, 147–162. Further evidence on wrestling as depicted in Gandhāra is found in: M. Taddei: On a Hellenistic Model used in some Gandharan Reliefs in Swat. East and West 15.1964/65, 174–178. The oldest representation of wrestling in Indian art is discussed in: J. Auboyer: La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne. VI. Les jeux et les jouets. Paris 1955, p. 4.

[38] Knocking out eyes seems to have been a salient feature of these fights: *yāvan mallena mallasya talaprahāreṇākṣipeḍako lamvitaḥ*, GM III 2.37,1 foll. "when the eyeball of a wrestler knocked out by a blow of the hand of a second wrestler hangs down": IIJ 23.1981, p. 42.

[39] Mallapurāṇa. Ed. by B. J. Sandesara. Baroda 1964. GOS 144. A second work on wrestling known only in manuscript form so far, it seems, has been described by: E. D. Kulkarni: Mallaśāstra of Devīsiṃha. Its Contents and Importance. Vishveshwaranand Indological Journal 12.1974 (Vishva Bandhu Commemoration Volume), 179–191; cf. also: N. P. Joshi: Wrestling Tournaments in Ancient India. The Poona Orientalist 21.1956, 50–56 mostly according to the Mānasollāsa: I am obliged to D. Schlingloff, München, for this reference. – On wrestling as observed by Europeans in India during the last century: J. Bautze: The Ajmer Darbar of 1832 and Kota Painting. South Asian Studies 6.1990, 71–91, especially p. 80 with figures 2 and 14.

Sanskrit tradition, and had been reinterpreted as "the wrestler Muṣṭika", as *muṣṭika* "boxer" does not seem to exist in Sanskrit as far as the dictionaries are reliable. In some vernaculars, however, *muṣṭika* "boxer, wrestler" did survive[40].

As usual the technical vocabulary of the Mallapurāṇa, which was intended as a collection of key words to be expanded by the teacher during his instruction and helping the student to memorize the relevant subject matter[41], is difficult to understand. In spite of some details, however brief, on taking a bath in the Mallapurāṇa IX 34 – 40, where one might hope to find some remark helping to understand the difficult comparison in the Cullavagga, neither here nor in the introduction, where present day wrestling in Western India is described at some length, any really decisive hint is found. Besides the loin cloth mentioned on p. 27 of the introduction and worn by the wrestlers depicted on figure 1, where it closely resembles a *saṃvelli*[42], and figure 3, where it is totally different, mention is made that wrestlers apply red ochre and "gorochan", a yellow pigment prepared from the bile of cows, to their bodies, Mallapurāṇa, p. 27. Obviously this has to be removed somehow or other after the contest and this may be remotely related to the Vinaya passage without really settling this problem[43]. Thus the only hope to solve the problem rests upon finding another parallel explaining what wrestlers are doing when or after taking a bath.

As long as the context resists complete understanding, it is unsafe to speculate on a possible etymology of *gāmaphoḍava*. The second part of the compound bears a remote resemblance to a technical word used in connection to wrestling that is *app(h)oṭ(h)eti*, cf. CPD s.v. It occurs in a formula referring to wrestlers: *vaggantā gajjantā appoṭhentā*, Ja IV 81,26 foll. (3 + 3 + 4) or: *āsphoṭya vavalga*, Brahmapurāṇa 193,51 said of Balabhadra. The meaning could be "clapping the hands" or "moving the arms". However, the word for-

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[40] Thurston, as note 28 above, p. 460; on *muṣṭika, mauṣṭika* as names of a low cast: Lüders: Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, as note 17 above, p. 44, and BHSD s.v.

[41] The relation of *śāstras* to practice has been studies recently by P. B. Zarrilli: Between text and embodied practice: Writing and reading in a South Indian martial tradition, in: Shastric Traditions in Indian Arts. Ed. by A. L. Dallapiccola. Stuttgart 1989. Beiträge zur Südasienforschung Band 125, p. 415–424.

[42] On *saṃvelli* cf. also KZ 84.1970, p. 83 foll.

[43] On the possible application of oil and sand to the body by wrestlers in ancient India: V. Pisani: Studi Mahābhāratiani: I. Tre nuove parole del Mahābhārata. Rivista degli Studi Orientali 25.1950, 44–47 on *paṃsuvikarṣaṇa*, Mhbh 1.119,15; on the practice of modern Indian wrestlers of oiling their bodies: Thurston, as note 28 above, p. 459.

mation of *gāmaphoḍava* and the first member of this compound remain obscure.

Although the word certainly looks somewhat un-Aryan, it is highly problematic to assume a Dravidian origin and consequently Dravidian influence in a text of such an early period of Pāli rooted perhaps in Eastern India still[44].

Evidently the problem of this word and others occurring in this paragraph prescribing rules concerning bathing and later clothing, are first of all rooted in the abrupt change of the linguistic level. In contrast to the discussion of Buddhist doctrine, where a litterary language prevails, we are often confronted with colloquial words intruding into legal discussions, when objects of everyday use are mentioned or certain common forms of behaviour referred to. Thus compounds, even if formed from well known words, become incomprehensible in their exact technical meaning even with the help of the commentary as e.g. *gandhabbahatthaka*, Vin II 106,8 = 108a6c (Sp 1199,23) "*gandhabba*-hand (instrument)" (I. B. Horner).

As soon as these technical terms occur without any convincing etymology at hand as *gāmaphoḍava* or *ukkāsikā*, Vin II 106,25 written *ukkosaka*, 108b3c, it is difficult and at times purely arbitrary which variant to chose. For, although the high age of the Nepalese Vinaya fragment antedating Oldenberg's manuscripts roughly by a millennium, might lead to the assumption that preference should be given to variants met with here, two points should be taken into consideration before doing so. First the general quality of the Nepalese fragment is not good as is evident from mistakes as *paṭisuttaka*, 108b4b for *kaṭi*°, or *pāmaṃka*, 108b6b, *pāpaṃga*, 108b4b for *pāmaṅga* togehter with those referred to above, because the scribe may have had at his disposal a fairly old manuscript and he may not have been used to copying Pāli.

Still there are some good and true variants and others that can be suspected to be true: Thus *vallī*, 108b6a besides *vallikā*, Vin II 106,33[45] or *muṇḍavetti*, 124b2a for °*vaṭṭi*, Vin II 137,17, another word that defies any convincing explanation, which is similar to *muṇḍavethi*, Sp 1213,25 quoted there as a Burmese variant also found Vin II 319,31, though otherwise alien to the

[44] Consequently it is impossible to benefit from the speculations by M. D'Onza Chiodo – E. Panattoni: Dravidian Contributions to an Interpretation of Pāli *gāmapoddava* and Buddhaghosa's Explanation of the Term. IT 12.1984, 355–363.

[45] Cf. CPD svv. *anvādhi* and *avebhaṅgika*.

manuscript tradition[46], can be mentioned here. Further *vedhaṃ*, 124a1c : *vedhe*, 124a2a : *vehā(!)*, 124a2b for *vidhaṃ*, Vin II 136,16 : *vidhe*, ibidem 17 : *vidhā*, ibidem 20 in E^e and B^e 1956 support the variant *pīṭhaṃ* etc. from Oldenberg's Sinhalese manuscript quoted Vin II 319,27 and confirmed by the Sinhalese prints C^e 1933 and SHB; S^e has *vīthaṃ*. This word supposed to mean "buckle" perhaps, occurs once again in Pāli as *vidhe*, Vin IV 168,5, where C^e 1924 reads *vīṭhe* in agreement with *vīṭhe ti vīṭhake*, Sp 883,28 (E^e = C^e 1900; B^e 1956: *vidhe ti vedhake*). These variants, if taken together, and if Burmese *vidha* and Siamese *vītha* may be considered as rather recent changes due to the frequent hesitation in South East Asian manuscripts to write a dental or the corresponding cerebral, seem to point to an original *vīṭha/veḍha* with an interchange of *ī*: *e* (Mittelindisch § 118 foll.) and a slightly younger form: *-ṭh-* > *-ḍh-* (Mittelindisch § 197) in the north and perhaps also in Burma, while *veha* remains unexplained and may be a simple error. At the same time *vīṭha/veḍha*, if original, would link this word, however loosely, to BHS *veṭhaka* as conjectured by E. Senart for *veṭ(ṭ)aka* in his manuscripts at Mahāvastu II 470,8.11, which designates some sort of object manufactured by a goldsmith. A meaning such as "buckle", if correct, would fit well.

Similarly *kāḍḍo*, 124a5c: *koṇo*, Vin II 137,1 occuring once again in the Nepalese fragment due to a dittography as *koḍḍo*, focusses the attention on the Burmese variant *koṭṭo*, Vin II 319,28 shared by B^e 1956, whereas the Sinhalese (C^e 1933, SHB) and the Siamese editions have *koṇo*. As this paragraph prescribing certain accessories of a *saṃghāṭi* has not been fully understood as yet, the word *koṇo* is translated usually as "corner" (I. B. Horner) following Oldenberg's hesitating preference for this variant. If, however, the Burmese variant supported now by the Nepalese fragment could be considered as superior, the meaning of this rule would change completely. For *koṭṭa* appears in the explanation of *citantaraṃsa*, one of the *mahāpurusalakṣaṇa*: *antaraṃsaṃ vuccati dvinnaṃ koṭṭānaṃ* (so B^e 1956; E^e *koṭṭhāsānaṃ*) *antaraṃ*, Sv 449,6 with the subcommentary: *dvinnaṃ koṭṭānaṃ* (B^e; E^e as above) *antaran ti dvinnaṃ piṭṭhibāhūnaṃ vemajjhaṃ piṭṭhimajjhaṃ uparibhāgo*, Sv-pṭ II 51,22 foll., where it can hardly mean anything else but "shoulder-blade". As long as the whole paragraph in the Vinaya remains doubtful, the choice cannot be made for either alternative. It is however evident from the Pāli Burmese Dictionary that the modern Burmese interpretation favours *koṭṭa* "shoulder-blade".

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[46] Not in: Vin B^e 1956, S^e 1933 and SHB; Sp B^e 1956. The passage containing this explanation is missing in Sp C^e 1900 p. 306,16.

The variant *mohapurisa*, 107b7a in contrast to *moghapurisa*, 107b6c is unrecorded in Pāli so far, but it is found as *mohapuruṣa* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya, cf. BHSD s.v. and in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā (see note 17) p. 44. Thus it may be classified as one of those Sanskritisms pointed out above.

Most striking are two further differences from Oldenberg's and all other editions, one grammatical and one orthographical. Regularly the correct genitive plural *viharataṃ*, Vin II 86,32 etc. has been replaced by a syntactically incomprehensible accusative singular *viharantaṃ*, 106b3b etc., perhaps a strange and inexplicable blend of *viharataṃ* and *viharantānaṃ* (?). The persistent choice of this form rules out simple inadvertence of the scribe.

The same is true for *pācattiyaṃ*, 106a2a etc. for *pācittiyaṃ*, Vin II 102,33 etc. As the phonetic shape of this technical term is normally fixed and even typical for the Buddhist Vinaya schools[47], this deviation from the Theravāda standard is very surprising. Two possible explanations can be offered: Either this fragment belongs to an otherwise unknown non-Mahāvihāra tradition of the Theravāda school, what is not altogether impossible as there must have existed many Theravāda branches also in North India, or the scribe was attached to a different school perhaps using Sanskrit texts as suggested by his Sanskritisms prominent even in these few folios as well. Thus he may have substituted in writing *pācattiya* a form similar to the one he was used to, which could have been *pācattika*, the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda form. The Nepalese manuscript tradition of the Mahāvastu proves that Buddhist monks in that country adhered to this school once.

The latter explanation may be more likely as the Nepalese Vinaya fragment follows Oldenberg's edition very closely, more closely even than it might seem at a first glance, because Oldenberg has condensed his text extremely at places by numerous abbreviations shared neither by Oriental prints nor by manuscripts. The only obvious differences have been caused by evident mistakes committed by the scribe, who omitted the text of Vin II 86, 32 – 87,4 between *saṃvatteyyā ti* and *anujānāmi*, 106b4b, and who wrote ... *saṃgho ñāpetavvo: suṇātu me bhaṃte saṃgho* ..., 106b6c inadvertently for ... *sako pakkho ñāpetabbo: suṇantu me āyasmantā* ..., Vin II 87,15.

If the Nepalese fragment abbreviates the text, it does not always condense the wording in the same way as the printed editions do, though it is by no

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[47] O. v. Hinüber: Die Bestimmung der Schulzugehörigkeit buddhistischer Texte nach sprachlichen Kriterien, in: Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur. Erster Teil. Göttingen 1985. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Dritte Folge. Nr. 149, 57–75, especially p. 65 and H. Kern: Verspreide Geschriften, 15. Deel. 's-Gravenhage 1928, p. 77.

means certain, if and how far Oldenberg's edition and the Oriental prints really mirror the peculiarities of the manuscripts in this respect. At the beginning of the Khuddakavatthukkhandhaka the structure of abbreviations is the same in E[e] and in the Nepalese fragment except for the distribution of *pe*, 108a6b, 108a7c in the passage on *gandhavvahatthaka* and *kuruvindakasutta* only, while e.g. Oldenberg and C[e] 1933 also condense the preceding paragraphs using *la* or *pe*, Vin II 106,4 respectively.

These are, admittedly, very minor points. However, at the end of this chapter on folio 124 of the Nepalese fragment a unique wording is met with: ... *kāmabhogino ti. bhagavato: "na bhikkhave* ..., 124a2b and in the following paragraphs, corresponding to: ... *kāmabhogino ti. bhagavato etam attham ārocesuṃ. na bhikkhave* ..., Vin II 136,19. The omission of the words following *bhagavato* that is *etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ*, is not found in C[e] 1933, SHB or B[e] 1956, which have a text identical with Oldenberg's edition, while S[e] inserts *pe* twice: ... *kāmabhogino ti. pe. bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ. pe. na bhikkhave*. The abbreviation *bhagavato* evidently isolates the Nepalese fragment from the shape of the text as found in the southern manuscripts, as far as the few prints consulted allow this conclusion.

Although all this is clearly quite irrelevant for the contents of the Vinaya, as the meaning of the text is not the least affected, it may not be completely useless to draw the attention to these variations of form in the manuscript tradition. For it is by no means rare that there are, however small, differences in wording between manuscripts unused so far for any edition and the printed texts, which again might reflect the manuscripts consulted in preparing them at least to some extent. Thus the printed editions (E[e], B[e] 1956, S[e]) agree in the wording: *imāni kho bhikkhave cattāri ṭhānānī ti. catuhi bhikkhave* ..., AN II 119,27 fol. at the end of one and at the beginning of the next *sutta* in the Kasivagga of the Catukkanipāta in contrast to: *imāni kho cattāri ṭhānānī ti. idam avoca. la. abhinandun ti. pañcamasuttaṃ. sāvatthinidānaṃ. catuhi bhikkhave* found in an 16th century Aṅguttaranikāya manuscript from North Thailand[48]. This, again, does not affect the meaning, but it shows nevertheless that the wording of the *suttas* in this particular case of the

[48] No. 61 in: O. v. Hinüber: The Pāli Manuscripts Kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok. A Short Catalogue. JSS 75. 1987, 9–74. The date given for this manuscript discussed on p. 56 under "Remarks" is too young. A richer material available now for comparison leaves no room for any doubt that this manuscript has been copied during the early 16th century AD, probably between 1530 and 1540 according to: O. v. Hinüber: On Some Colophons of Old Lānnā Pāli Manuscripts. Proceedings of the IVth International Conference on Thai Studies. Kunming. 11–13th May 1990. Kunming 1990. Vol. IV, 56–77.

frame was not really fixed as in much earlier times, when the *suttas* got their frames adjusting them to different contexts sometimes, if the same *sutta* occurs at more than one place in the Theravāda Tipiṭaka[49], or if they were incorporated into the canons of different schools, as e.g. the Vallée Poussin fragment referred to above, where they are found to be identical in content but differ in wording.

Even these minor changes as met in the Aṅguttaranikāya manuscript presuppose some redactional work. It is, however, impossible at present to find out by whom and where these modified frames have been shaped and introduced into the manuscript tradition. Although it is very tempting to think that they are traces of the council held at Chiang Mai in 1477/8 AD, this remains a matter of speculation. If so, this text tradition was a dead end without any noticeable continuation at least in printed editions. On the other hand, these changes, small as they are, may also be the work of monks at a certain, perhaps more important monastery, if not typical to a certain *nikāya*[50]. In any case these matters of purely external form deserve some attention, as they ultimately may affiliate manuscript traditions to certain places or to certain periods, if observed carefully. At the same time these differences show that even the Theravāda texts are by no means so very uniform in shape as one might be inclined to believe judging from printed editions only[51].

A further peculiarity of the Nepalese fragment is the numbering of rules or of single items within an enumeration. All these figures and the very simple system of their use have not been understood by Bapat, who also failed to notice the pagination and read the figure "6" in [10]6 as the letter *u* in front of line 3 of page 106b.

The counting of rules is quite irregular and begins only on folio 108b. The first figure found in the manuscript is "6" at the end of the sixth rule from

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[49] O. v. Hinüber: Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jg. 1989, Nr. 11, chapter V, p. 22–25.

[50] *Nikāya* and related terms of Buddhist ecclesiastical law have been defined by H. Bechert: Aspects of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and South East Asia, in: The Buddhist Heritage. Ed. by. T. Skorupski. London 1989, 19–27, especially p. 26 and the same: The Recent Attempt at a Reform of the Buddhist Sangha in Burma and Its Implications. Internationales Asienforum 20.1989, 303–323, especially p. 312 foll.

[51] The form of non-canonical *sūtras* has been subject to considerable changes sometimes: O. v. Hinüber: Origin and Varieties of Buddhist Sanskrit, in: Dialectes dans les littératures Indo-Aryennes. Paris 1989, 341–367, especially p. 358 foll.

the beginning of the Khuddakavatthukkhandhaka, and the last is "11". Sometimes there is a single figure such as "6", 108b1a used to separate two rules, while normally such a division is marked by *//pka//tha//pka//*, rarely only by *//tha//* following "11", 108b4b. These ligatures, which could be read as *//4//20//4//* as well, seem to have been chosen arbitrarily for this purpose.

Items within an enumeration have been counted in two different ways. At the end of an enumeration the sum may be noted as "8", 108b4c, 108b7a, "2", 124a1a, "6", 124b3b, or single items have been numbered as "6 – 8", 124a4c, here by mistake for "7 – 9", or "2 – 5", 124a7c. Isolated numbers are met with as well: "2" and "4", 124b4a. The fragment is too short to allow any conclusion as to a possible regular use of counting rules and items.

In spite of all peculiarities concerning the shape of the text, and in spite of the variants discussed above, the text as a whole is so very close to the well known Theravāda Vinaya of the Mahāvihāra tradition that it is tempting indeed to ascribe this fragment to this very tradition. In this respect it is important to note that no linguistic characteristics found in the extremely scanty evidence for continental Pāli are shared by the Nepalese fragment. While *paḍi-* is found in the Devnimori casket inscription and in Ratnagiri, and in the former also *karodha* and *uvādāna*, while Ratnagiri has *upādāna*[52], the Nepalese fragment follows insular Pāli with *paṭi-*, *labbetha*, 106a2b, *upāgamana*, 106a5ab.

If these folios really belong to the Mahāvihāra Theravāda, it is obvious to look for any hints of this manuscript having been copied from an original in Sinhalese script[53]. Such hints, however, seem to be lacking completely: There is e.g. no confusion between *ta* and *na*, which at this comparatively early time could happen in other scripts as well, nor between *bha* and *ha*[54]. On the contrary, from what has been said on some few palaeographical features it is evident that the immediate original, which the scribe had before him, rather seems to have been written in a North Indian, perhaps some

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52 O. v. Hinüber: Epigraphical Varieties, as note 4 above, p. 190, 193 foll.

53 A South East Asian origin of the Nepalese fragment cannot be ruled out altogether because of the Burmese Vinaya fragment (Vin I 1,5 – 2,6) found at Kunzeik near Pegu and dated in the 7th/8th century: Aung Thaw: Historical Sites in Burma. Rangoon 1972, p. 111, plate p. 110.

54 The shape of these *akṣaras* in the oldest book from Ceylon can be seen in the plates in: O. v. Hinüber: Sieben Goldblätter einer Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā aus Anurādhapura. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Phil.-Hist. Klasse Jg. 1983, Nr. 7.

Gupta alphabet somewhat outdated during his times. Further, a Sinhalese original is very unlikely, if the way the *akṣara ḷa* has been used, is considered. In an early Sinhalese Pāli manuscript a fairly regular use of this letter should be expected which cannot be observed in the Nepalese fragment. If it is true, as assumed above, that the scribe reproduced the *ḷa* he saw in his original rather mechanically without really understanding its meaning, this would point to a North Indian script, in which *ḷa* was still in use. On the other hand the strange mistakes of the scribe committed concerning this letter are hard to understand, once he was able to read and transcribe the Sinhalese script. Lastly a confusion between *pa* and *ha* seems hardly possible in transcription from Sinhalese script[55].

Thus there is no evidence that the original, from which the Nepalese fragment has been copied, came from Ceylon directly. If this is accepted, and if the original was perhaps a few centuries old, when it has been copied in the 9th century AD, which is well possible given the climate of Nepal, this could indicate an established though perhaps very weak Mahāvihāra tradition in North India. As there is some slight epigraphical evidence of Ceylonese pilgrims visiting Bodh Gayā, and even of a Ceylonese monastery having existed there[56], this assumption is not altogether impossible, and even modern parallels suggest themselves such as the recent attempt to establish Ceylonese Theravāda in Kathmandu in our own times[57]. Unfortunately, however, the material available so far, that is only these four folios, is by far too fragmentary to go beyond speculations in this respect and to reach the safe harbour of established facts.

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[55] C. W. Nicholas: Palaeographical Development of the Brāhamī Script in Ceylon from 3rd B.C. to 7th A.D. University of Ceylon Review 7.1949, 60–64 and tables.

[56] The relevant evidence is found in: Bodh Gaya. The Site of Enlightenment. Ed. by J. Leoshko. Bombay 1988 in the article by V. Dehejia: Bodh Gaya and Sri Lanka, p. 89–100, especially p. 96; cf. further on the gift of land to a Buddhist monk from Ceylon in AD 1202: H. Panday: The Janibigha Inscription. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society 4.1918, 273–280.

[57] H. Bechert and J.-U. Hartmann: Observations on the Reforms of Buddhism in Nepal. Journal of the Nepal Research Center 8.1988, 1–30.

Addendum

While the manuscript was in the press the passage on *gāmaphoḍava* could be examined in five old Pāli manuscripts from Vat Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha, near Lampang in North Thailand. Altough they offer some new variants, they do not bring the problem closer to a solution:

1. Vinaya (Cullavagga) 04-044-00, AD 1755: *gāmapoddavā*
2. Samantapāsādikā 04-035-00, AD 1588: *gāmapotakā ... gāmapoddavo(!)*
3. Samantapāsādikā 04-086-06, 16th century: *gāmaputtakā ... gāmamodavā ti pi pāṭho*, corrected into: *gāpa(!)podavā*
4. Samantapāsādikā 04-087-00, 16th century: *gāmapuddavā ... gāmapotakā*
5. Samantapāsādikā 04-019-00, AD 1639: *gāmapuddavā ti chaviraṅga-maṇḍanānuyuttanāgapurikamanussā. gāmapoddavā ti pi pāṭho; nāga* is corrected into *nāgara*

A detailed description of these manuscripts will be found in my forthcoming catalogue of the Pāli manuscripts kept at Vat Lai Hin.

On wrestling in ancient India (cf. note 39) see also: W. Cohn: Der Wettkampf im Ringen, ein Relief im Museum of Eastern Art, Oxford. Schriften des Museums Rietberg, Zürich. 2 (E. v. d. Heydt zum 70. Geburtstag). 1957, 65 - 71, cf. J. C. Harle: Indian Art in the Ashmolean Museum. Oxford 1987, plate 39, p. 30; P. Bernard et Ch. P. Julien: Haltères votives de lutteurs dans le Gandhara. Studia Iranica 11 (Mélanges offerts à Raoul Curiel). 1982, 33 - 47; F. Tissot: Gandhâra. La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne. 2ᵉ série. Paris 1985 (review: E. Errington, BSOAS 50.1987, 570 foll.).

Symbols used in the Pāli text

[ ] text restored in a gap in the manuscript
( ) text partly destroyed
< > text cancelled by the scribe
≪ ≫ text omitted by the scribe
+ obscure *akṣara*
/ / , / *daṇḍas* as in the manuscript
Modern punctuation-marks have been introduced to enhance the readability. Minor orthographical deviations from Oldenberg's text have not been indicated; otherwise differences have either been discussed at length or marked by (!).

Folio [10]6a : Vin II 102,27 – 103,13

/1a/ [ca deseti], (ubho sammukhabhūtā honti. ayaṃ tattha) [puggala]-(saṃmukhatā. kiṃ ca tattha) [paṭiññātakaraṇasmiṃ. yā paṭiññā/1b/takaraṇa](ssa kammassa) kiriyā karaṇa[ṃ] (upāgamanaṃ ajjhupāgamanaṃ) [adhi](vāsanā) [apaṭikkosanā idaṃ tattha /1c/ paṭi/2a/ññātakaraṇasmiṃ. evaṃ vūpasantaṃ ce bhikkhave] (adhikaraṇaṃ) paṭiggāhako ukkoṭeti ukkoṭanakaṃ pācatti/2b/yaṃ. evaṃ ce taṃ labhethā(!) icc' etaṃ kusalaṃ. no ce labhetha tena bhikkhave bhikkhunā saṃvahule bhikkhu upasa[ṃ]-kamitvā ekaṃ/2c/sa[ṃ] uttarāsaṃgaṃ (karitvā) vuḍḍhānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pāde (vanditvā) /3a/ [ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā aṃja](liṃ paggahetvā evaṃ assu vacanīyā): "ahaṃ bhaṃte itthaṃnāmaṃ ≪āpattiṃ≫ āpanno, taṃ papa(!)-ti/3b/desemī" ti / vyattena bhikkhunā paṭi≪va≫lena te bhikkhu ññāpetavvā: "suṇātu ≪me≫ āyasmantā. iyaṃ(!) itthaṃnāmo bhikkhu āpattiṃ sarati /3c/ vivarati uttānikaroti deseti. yad' āyasmantānaṃ pattakallaṃ, ahaṃ itthaṃnāmassa bhikkhuno āpattiṃ (pa)[ṭigaṇheyyan" ti. /4a/ tena vattavvo: "passasī" ti. "āma passāmī" ti. "āyatiṃ] (saṃvareyyasī") ti. idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasantaṃ. ≪kena vūpasantaṃ≫. saṃ/ 4b/mukhāvinayena ca paṭiññātakaraṇena ca. kiṃ ca tattha saṃmukhāvinayasmiṃ. dhammasaṃmukhatā vinayasaṃmukhatā puggala/4c/saṃmukha <yā>tā. kā ca tattha puggalasaṃmukhatā. yo ca deseti yassa ca deseti ubho saṃmukhibhūtā honti. [ayaṃ tattha /5a/ puggalasaṃmukhatā. kiṃ ca tattha paṭiññātakaraṇa](smiṃ. yā paṭi)ññātakaraṇassa kammassa kiriyā karaṇaṃ upā/5b/gamanaṃ ajjhupāgamanaṃ adhivāsanā appaṭikkosanā. idaṃ tattha paṭiññātakaraṇasmiṃ. evaṃ vūpasantaṃ ce bhikkhave /5c/ adhikaraṇaṃ paṭiggāhako ukkoṭeti, ukkoṭanakaṃ pācattiyaṃ. evaṃ ce taṃ labhetha (icc' etaṃ kusalaṃ). [no ce labhetha /6a/ tena bhikkhave bhikkhunā saṃghaṃ upasaṃkami](tvā ekaṃsaṃ) uttarāsaṃgaṃ karitvā (vuḍḍhānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ) pāde va/6b/nditvā ukkuṭikam nisīditvā aṃjaliṃ paggahetvā evam assa (vaca)ni<va>yo: "ahaṃ bhaṃte itthaṃnāmaṃ āpattiṃ āpanno, taṃ /6c/ paṭidesemī" ti. vyattena bhikkhunā paṭivale≪na≫ saṃgho (ññāpetavvo: "suṇātu me) bhaṃte saṃgho. ayaṃ itthaṃ[nāmo bhikkhu ā-

Folio [10]6b : Vin II 103,13 – 27; 87,2 – 87,16

/**1a**/pat]t[iṃ] sarati vivarati uttānikaroti deseti. yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ, (a)ha[ṃ] itthaṃnāmassa bhikkhuno /**1b**/ āpattiṃ paṭigaṇheyyan" ti. tena vattavvo: "passasī" ti. "āma passā[mī" ti. "āyatiṃ saṃ](va)reyyas[ī" ti]. idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave adhi/**1c**/ karaṇaṃ vūpasantaṃ. kena vūpasantaṃ. saṃmukhāvina[yena ca paṭiññātakara]/**2a**/ṇena<na> ca. kiṃ ca tattha yaṃ saṃmukhavinayasmiṃ. saṃghasaṃmukhatā dhammasaṃmukhatā vinayasaṃmukhatā pudga(!)lasaṃmu/**2b**/khatā. / / pe / / evaṃ vūpasanta[ṃ] ce bhikkhave adhikaraṇaṃ paṭiggāhako uko(!)ṭeti ukkoṭanakaṃ pācattiyaṃ. chandadāyako khi/**2c**/yyati khiyyanakaṃ pācattiyaṃ. siyā āpattādhikaraṇaṃ ekaṃ (sama)[thaṃ anāgamma paṭiññatakaraṇaṃ dvīhi sa]/**3a**/ mathehi sa[ṃ]meyya saṃmukhavinayena ca tiṇapatthārakeṇa cā ti. "siyā" ti assā(!) vacaniyaṃ yathākathaṃ viya. idha bhi/**3b**/kkhūnaṃ bhaṇḍanajātānaṃ kalahajātānaṃ vivādāpannānaṃ viharantaṃ vahū assāmaṇakaṃ ajjhācinnaṃ hoti bhāsitapa/**3c**/rikkantaṃ. tatra me (read: ce) bhikkh[ū]na[ṃ] evaṃ hoti: "amhākaṃ kho bhaṇḍanajātāna[ṃ] kalahajā(tā)naṃ vivādāpannānaṃ viha[rantaṃ vahū assā]/**4a**/maṇakaṃ ajjhācinnaṃ bhāsitaparikkantaṃ. sace mayaṃ imāhi āpattīhi aṃññamaṃññaṃ kāressāma siyā pi taṃ /**4b**/ adhikaraṇaṃ kakkhalatāya vālatāya bhedāya saṃvatteyyā" ti. anujānāmi bhikkhave evarūpaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ tiṇa/**4c**/vatthārakena vūpasametuṃ. evaṃ ca pana bhikkhave vūpasametavvaṃ: savveh' eva ekajjhaṃ sannipatitavvaṃ [sannipatitvā vya]/**5a**/ttena bhikkhunā paṭivalena saṃgho ññāpetavvo: "suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. amhākaṃ bhaṇḍanajātānaṃ kalahajā/**5b**/tānaṃ vivādāpannānaṃ viharantaṃ vahū assāmaṇakaṃ ajjhācinnaṃ bhāsitaparikkantaṃ. sace mayaṃ imāhi āpa/**5c**/ttīhi aññamaññaṃ karissāmaṃ(!) siyā pi taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ kakkhalatāya vāḷatāya bhedāya saṃvatte[yya. yadi saṃgha]/**6a**/---ssa pattakallaṃ saṃgho imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ tiṇapatthārakena vūpasame/**6b**/yya ṭhapetvā thullavajjaṃ ṭhapetvā gihipaṭisaṃññuttaṃ" ti. ekatopakkhikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ vyattena bhikkhunā paṭivale/**6c**/na saṃgho ññāpetavvo: "suṇātu me bhaṃte saṃgho. amhākaṃ bhaṇḍanajātānaṃ kalahajātānaṃ vivā[dāpannānaṃ]

Folio 107a : Vin II 87,16 – 88,4

/**1a**/ viharantaṃ vahū assāmaṇakaṃ ajjhācinnaṃ bhāsitaparikkantaṃ. sace mayaṃ imāhi āpattīhi aṃññamaññaṃ kare/**1b**/ssāma siyā pi taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ kakkhaḷatāya vālatāya bhedāya saṃvatteyya. yad' āyasmantānaṃ pattakallaṃ ahaṃ yā /**1c**/ c' eva āyasmantānaṃ āpatti yā ca atta(no) [āpatti

āyasmantānaṃ c' eva atthāya ≪attano ca atthāya≫saṃghamajjhe tiṇavatthārakena deseyyaṃ ṭhapetvā thullavajjaṃ] /2a/ ṭhapetvā gṛi(!)hipaṭisaṃññuta(!)n" ti. athāparesaṃ ekatopakkhikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ vyattena bhikkhunā paṭivalena sako /2b/ pakkho ññāpetavvo: "suṇātu me āyasmantā. amhākaṃ bhaṇḍanajātānaṃ kalahajātānaṃ vivādāpannānaṃ viharantaṃ /2c/ vahū assāmaṇakaṃ ajjhācinnaṃ bhāsitaparikkanta[ṃ]. sac[e] maya[ṃ] imāhi (āpattīhi aṃññamaṃññaṃ) kāressāma siyā /3a/ pi taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ kakkha(ṅga?)tāya vālatāya bhedāya saṃvatteyya. yad' āyasmantānaṃ pattakallaṃ ahaṃ yā c' eva ā/3b/yasmantānaṃ āpatti yā ca attano āpatti āyasmantānaṃ c' eva atthāya attano ca atthāya saṃghamajjhe ti/3c/ṇavatthārakena deseyya ṭhapetvā thullavajjaṃ ṭhapetvā gihipaṭisaṃññuttan" ti. ekatopakkhikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ / / pe / / /4a/ yathāparesaṃ <ka> ekatopakkhikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ vyattena bhikkhunā paṭi≪va≫lena saṃgho ññāpetavvo: "suṇātu me bhaṃte /4b/ saṃgho. amhākaṃ bhaṇḍanajātanaṃ kalahajātānaṃ vivādāpannānaṃ --- viharantaṃ vahū assāmaṇakaṃ ajjhācinnaṃ / 4c/ bhāsitaparikkantaṃ. sace mayaṃ imāhi āpattīhi aṃññamaññaṃ karessāmama(!) siyā pi taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ kakkhaḷatāya /5a/ ≪vāḷatāya≫ bhedāya saṃvatteyya. yadi saṃgha≪ssa≫ pattakallaṃ a<ya>haṃ yā c' eva imesaṃ āyasmantānaṃ āpa<ā>tti yā ca (<a?>) a/5b/ttano āpatti imesaṃ c' eva āyasmantāna[ṃ] atthāya ≪attano ca atthāya≫ saṃghamajjhe tiṇavatthārakena deseyyaṃ ṭhapetvā thullavajjaṃ ṭhape/5c/tvā gihipaṭisaṃññuttaṃ. esā ññatti / / suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. amhākaṃ bhaṇḍanajātānaṃ kalahajātānaṃ vi/6a/vādāpannānaṃ viharantaṃ vahū assāmaṇakaṃ ajjhācinnaṃ bhāsitaparikkanta[ṃ]. sace mayaṃ imāhi āpattīhi aṃñña/6b/maṃññaṃ karessāma siyā pi taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ kakkhaḷatāya vāḷatāya bhedāya saṃvatteyya. ahaṃ yā c' eva imesaṃ ā/6c/yasmantānaṃ āpatti yā ca attano āpatti imesaṃ c' eva āyasmantānaṃ atthāya attano ca a(tthāya) saṃghamajjhe /7a/ tiṇavatthārakena desemi ṭhapetvā thullavajjaṃ ṭhapetvā gihipaṭisaṃññuttaṃ. yass' āyasmato khamati amhākaṃ i/7b/māsaṃ āpattīnaṃ saṃghamajjhe tiṇapatthārakena desanā ṭhapetvā thullavajjaṃ ṭhapetvā gihipaṭisaṃññuttaṃ, so tuṇh' assa. ya/7c/ssa yassa(!) na khamati, so bhāseyya. desitā amhākaṃ imā āpattiyo saṃghamajjhe tiṇava(tthārakena) ṭhapetvā thulla(va)-

Folio 107b : Vin II 88,4; 103,29 – 105,17

/1a/jja(ṃ) ṭhapetvā gihipaṭisa(ṃ)ññutta(ṃ). khamati saṃghassa, tasmā tuṇhi. evam etaṃ dhārayāmī" ti / / idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave adhikara/1b/ṇaṃ vūpasantaṃ. kena vūpasantaṃ. sammukhāvinayena ca tiṇavatthārakeṇa ca.

kiṃ ca tattha saṃmukhā(vinayasmiṃ). saṃghasaṃmukhatā /**1c**/ dhamma-saṃmukhatā. vinayasaṃmukhatā puggalasa[ṃ]mukhatā / / kā ca tattha / / saṃghasa[ṃ]mukhatā. yāvatikā bhikkhu (kammapattā) (t)[e āga]/**2a**/tā honti. chandarā(!)hānaṃ chando a(!)haṭo hoti saṃmukhibhūtā na paṭikkosanti. ayaṃ tattha saṃghasaṃmukhatā. kā ca tattha dhamma/**2b**/saṃmukhatā vinayasaṃmukhatā. yena dhammena yena vinayena yena satthu sāsanena taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasaṃmati, ayaṃ tattha dha/**2c**/mmasaṃmukhatā vinayasaṃmukhatā vinayasaṃmukhatā(!). kā ca tattha puggalasaṃmukhatā. yo ca deseti yassa ca deseti ubho (saṃ)[mukhi]/**3a**/bhūtā honti, ayaṃ tattha puggalasaṃmukhatā. kiṃ ca tattha <vattha>tiṇavatthārakasmiṃ. yā ti≪ṇa≫vatthārakassa kammassa kiriyā kara/**3b**/ṇam upāgamanaṃ ujjhupāgamanaṃ adhivāsanā apaṭikosanā, idaṃ tattha tiṇavatthārakasmiṃ. evaṃ vūpasantaṃ ce bhikkhave adhi/**3c**/karaṇaṃ paṭiggāhako ≪ukkoṭeti≫, ukkoṭanakaṃ pācattiyaṃ. chandadāyako khiyyati, khiyyanakaṃ pāca(ttiyaṃ) + / / kiccādhikara/**4a**/ṇaṃ katīhi samathehi saṃmati. kiccādhikaraṇaṃ ekena samathena saṃmati kiccādhikaraṇaṃ ekena samathena saṃmati(!). /**4b**/ sammukhāvinayenā ti.

/ / pka/ /tha/ /pka/ / samathakkhandhaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ catutthaṃ / / pka/ / tha/ / pka/ /

tena samayena vuddho bhagavā rājagahe /**4c**/ viharati veṇu(!)vane kalandakanivāpe. tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhū nahayānā(!) rukkhe (kāyaṃ) uggha[ṃ]santi /**5a**/ ūruṃ pi vāhaṃ pi uraṃ pi piṭṭhiṃ pi. manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "kathaṃñ hi nāma samaṇā (śā?)kyaputtiyā /**5b**/ nahamānā(!) rukkhe kāyaṃ ugghaṃsissanti ūruṃ pi vāhaṃ pi uraṃ pi piṭṭhiṃ pi seyyathā ti(!) mallamuṭṭhikā gāmaphoḍavā" + ti. /**5c**/ assosu[ṃ] kho bhikkhu tesaṃ manussānaṃ ujjhāyantānaṃ khiyyantānaṃ vipācentānaṃ. atha kho te bhikkhu bhagavato etam a/**6a**/tthaṃ ārocesuṃ / atha kho bhagavā etasmin(!) nidā≪ne≫ etasmiṃ pakaraṇe bhikkhusaṃghaṃ sannipātāpetvā bhikkhu paṭipucchi: /**6b**/ "saccaṃ kira bhikkhave chavvaggiyā bhikkhu naya(!)hayamānā rukkh[e] kāyaṃ ugghaṃsanti ūrum hi vāham hi(!) ūruṃ(!) ≪pi≫ piṭṭhiṃ pī" /**6c**/ ti. "saccaṃ bhagavā". vigarahi vuddho ≪bhagavā≫: "ananucchaviyaṃ yaṃ bhikkhave tesaṃ moghapurisānaṃ ananulomiyikaṃ (!) apatirūpaṃ /**7a**/ – – – assāmaṇakaṃ akappiyaṃ akaraṇīyaṃ. kathaṃñ hi nāma te bhikkhave moha(!)purisā nahayamānā rukkhe /**7b**/ kāyaṃ ugghaṃsissanti ūruṃ pi vāhaṃ pi uraṃ pi piṭṭhiṃ pi. n' etaṃ bhikkhave appasannānaṃ vā pasādāya vigarahitvā

Folio 108a : Vin II 105,17 - 106,12

/1a/ dhammiṃ kathaṃ katvā bhikkhu āmantesi: "na bhikkhave
nahayamānena ≪bhikkhunā≫ rukkhe kāyo ≪ugghaṃsetavvo. yo≫ ug-
ghaṃseyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā ti. / /pka/ /tha/ /pka/ / /1b/ tena kho pana
samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu nahayamānā tthambhe kāyaṃ ugghaṁsan-
ti ūruṃ pi vāhaṃ pi uraṃ pi piṭṭhiṃ [pi. ma] /1c/nussā ≪ujjhā≫yanti
vipācenti(!) khiyyanti vipācenti: "kathaṃñ hi nāma samaṇā (sākyaputtiyā)
[nahayamānā thambhe kāyaṃ ugghaṃ] /2a/ santi ūruṃ pi vāhaṃ pi uraṃ
pi piṭṭhiṃ pi seyyathā<thā>pi mallamuṭṭhikā gāmahoḍakā"ti. assosuṃ
kho bhikkhu tesaṃ /2b/ manussānaṃ ujjhāyantānaṃ khiyyantānaṃ
vi<(va)>pācentānaṃ. atha kho te bhikkhu bhagavato etam atthaṃ
ārocesuṃ / / "saccaṃ bhikkhave"/"sa/2c/ccaṃ bhagavā".vigarahitvā dham-
mi[ṃ] katham katvā bhikkhu āmantesi / "na bhikkhave nahayamānena
≪bhikkhunā≫ thaṃbhe kāyo uggha[ṃ](s)[etavvo. yo] /3a/ ugghaṃseyyā"
ti(!) / / pka/ / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu
nahayamānā kuḍḍe kāyaṁ uggha[ṃ]santi /3b/ ūruṃ pi / / pe / / manussā
ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "kathaṃñ hi nāma samaṇa(!) sakyaputtiyā
nahayamānā kuḍḍe kāyaṃ ugghaṃ/3c/sisssanti ūruṃ pi vāhaṃ pi uraṃ pi
piṭṭhiṃ pi seyyathāpi mallamuṭṭhikā gāmapoṭavā" ti. assosuṃ kho bhikkhu
tesaṃ manu/4a/ssānaṃ a(!)jjhāyantānaṃ khiyyantānaṃ vipācentānaṃ.
atha kho te bhikkhu bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ. / / "saccaṃ kira
bhikkha/4b/ve" / / "saccaṃ bhagavā". vigarahitvā dhammiṃ kathaṃ katvā
bhikkhu āmantesi: "na bhikkhave nahayamānena ≪bhikkhunā≫ kuḍḍhe(!)
kāyo ugghaṃseta/4c/vvo. yo ugghaṃs<y>eyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti / /
pka / / tha / /(!) tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu aṭṭhāne
nahayanti. /5a/ manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipāceyyanti(!): "seyyathāpi
gihi kāmabhogino" ti. assosuṃ kho bhikkhu tesaṃ manu/5b/ssānaṃ ujjhā-
yantānaṃ khiyyantānaṃ vipācentānaṃ. atha kho te bhikkhu bhagavato
etam atthaṃ ā<sā>rocesuṃ / / "saccaṃ kira bhikkha/5c/ve". "saccaṃ bha-
gavā". vigarahitvā dhammiṃ kathaṃ katvā bhikkhu āmantesi: "na bhik-
khave aṭṭhāne nahayitavvaṃ. yo nahayeyya, /6a/ āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti / /
pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena cha<vviga>vvaggiyā bhikkhu
gandhavvahatthakena nahaya/6b/nti. manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti khiy-
yanti(!) vipācenti: "seyyathāpi gihi kāmabhogino" / / pe / / bhagavato e/6c/
tam atthaṃ <vi> ārocesuṃ / / "na bhikkhave gandhavvahatthakena
nahayitavvaṃ. yo naha<yo>yeyya, āpatti dukkaṭa(ssā" ti / / pka / /) /7a/
--- / / tha / / pka / / tena /7b/ kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu
kuruvindakāsuttiyā nahayanti. manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipā<ca>-

ce/**7c**/nti: "seyyathāpi seyyathāpi(!) gihi kāmabhogino" ti. / / pe / / bhagavato etam attham ārocesuṃ / / "na bhi[kkhave kuruvinda]-

Folio 108b : Vin II 106, 12 – 107,3

/**1a**/kasuttiyā nahayitavvaṃ yo nahayeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti / / 6 / / tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu vi/**1b**/gayha parikammaṃ kārāpenti. manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "seyyathāpi gihi kāmabho(gino)" ti / / bhagavato etam atthaṃ /**1c**/ ārocesuṃ / / "na bhikkhave viga(m̄)yha parikammaṃ kārāpetavvaṃ. yo kārāpeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti (7) [/ / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena] / **2a**/ kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu mallakena nahayanti. manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "seyyathāpi gi/**2b**/hi kāmabhogino" ti / / bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ / / "na bhikkhave mallakena nahayitavvaṃ. <na> yo nahayeyya, āpatti dukkaṭa/**2c**/ssā" ti 8 / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena aṃññatarassa bhikkhuno kacchūrogāā(!)vādho hoti. tassa [vinā mallakā] /**3a**/ <na> na[1] phāsu hoti.bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ / / "anujānāmi bhikkhave gilānassa akatamallakan "ti 9 / / tha / / pka / / **3b** / / tha / / tha (!) / / tena kho pana samayena aṃññataro bhikkhu jarāduvvalo na<ya>hayamāno na sakkoti attano kāyaṃ ugghaṃsetuṃ̄. bha/**3c**/gavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ / / "anujānāmi bhikkhave ukko(!)sakan" ti 10 / / pka / / tha / pka / / tena kho pana samayena bhi/**4a**/kkhu piṭṭhiparikammaṃ kātuṃ kukkuccāyanti. bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ / / "anujānāmi bhikkhave puthupāṇiya/**4b**/n" ti 11 / / tha / / tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu vā(!)llikkaṃ(!) dhārenti pāpaṃgaṃ dhārenti / / kaṇṭhasuttakan dhārenti / / pa(!)ṭi/**4c**/suttakaṃ dhārenti / / ova(ṭṭ)akaṃ / / dhārenti keyūraṃ hatthābharaṇaṃ dhārenti / / aṃgulimuddikaṃ dhārenti. / 8 / manussā /**5a**/ ujjhāyanti ≪khiyyanti≫ vipācenti: "seyyathāpi gihi kāmabhogino" ti. assosuṃ kho bhikkhu tesaṃ manussānaṃ ujjhāya/**5b**/ntānaṃ khiyyantānaṃ vipācentānaṃ / / atha kho te bhikkhu bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ / / "saccaṃ kira bhikkhave chavvaggiyā /**5c**/ bhikkhu vā(!)llikaṃ dhārenti / / pā(v)aṃgaṃ dhārenti kaṇṭhasuttaṃ(!) dhārenti / / ovaṭṭakaṃ dhārenti / / keyūraṃ dhārenti / / hatthābharaṇaṃ /**6a**/ dhārenti aṃgulimuddikaṃ dhārenti". "saccaṃ bhagavā". vigarahitvā dhammiṃ kathaṃ katvā bhikkhu āmantesi / / "na bhikkhave va(!)llī /**6b**/ dhāretavvā / / na pāmaṃko dhāretavvo na kaṇṭhasuttakaṃ dhāretavvaṃ na kaṭisuttakaṃ dhāretavvaṃ / / na ovaṭṭakaṃ dhāretavvaṃ̄ / / /**6c**/ na keyūraṃ dhāretavvaṃ / / na hattha(!)bharaṇaṃ dhāretavvaṃ / /

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[1] Restoration not certain: Either as above following E[e] or *[mallake]na na*.

na aṃgulīmuddikā dhāretavvā. yo dhāreyya, (ā)patti dukkaṭa(ssā" ti) /**7a**/ – – – 8 / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena /**7b**/ chavvaggiyā bhikkhu dīghe kese dhārenti. manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "seyyathāpi gihi kāmabhogino" ti. bha/**7c**/gavato ārocesuṃ: "na bhikkhave dīghā kesā dhāretavvā. yo dhāreyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti. ("anujānāmi bhi)[kkhave]

Folio 124a : Vin II 136, 11 – 137,10

/**1a**/ "yo dhāreyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti. "anujānāmi bhikkhave dve kāyavandhane ti(!) paṭṭikaṃ / sūkarantakan" ti (2) / / kāyavandha/**1b**/nassa dasā jīranti. "anujānāmi bhikkhave murajjaṃ maddavīṇaṃ" ti / / kāyavandhanassa aṃto jīrati / / "anujānāmi bhikkha/**1c**/ve sobhakaṃ guṇakaṃ" ti. kāyavandhanassa pavananto jīrati. "anujānāmi bhikkhave veḍha(ṃ)" ti / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana /**2a**/ samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu uccāvace veḍhe dhārenti sovaṇṇāyaṃ(!) rūpi≪ya≫mayam.[2] te manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācen/**2b**/nti: "seyyathāpi gihi kāmabhogino" ti. bhagavato: "na bhikkhave uccāvā(!)cā vehā dhāretavvā. yo dhāreyya, āpatti dukkaṭa/**2c**/ssā" ti <ssa> / "anujānāmi bhikkhave aṭṭhimayaṃ / / pe / / saṃkhanābhimayaṃ gha(!?) / / suttamayaṃ" ti / / tha / / tena kho pana samye/**3a**/na(!) āyasmā ānando lahukaṃ saṃghāṭi(ṃ) pārupitvā gāmaṃ piṃḍāya pāvisi. vātā(!)maṃḍalikāya saṃghāṭikāyo(!) u/**3b**/kkhipiṃ(!)yiṃsu / / atha kho āyasmā ānando ārāmaṃ gaṃtvā bhikkhūnaṃ etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃsi(!) / / bhagavato / / "anujānā/**3c**/mi bhikkhave gaṇṭhikaṃ pāsakan" ti / / tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu uccāvā(!)cā gaṇṭhikāyo dhārenti so/**4a**/vaṇṇāyaṃ(!) rūpimayāṃ / manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "seyyathāpi gihi kāmabhogino" ti / / bhagavato / /**4b**/ "na bhikkhave uccāvā(!)cā gaṇṭhikā dhāretavvā. yo dhāreyya, āpatti dukkaṭassa / / anujānāmi bhikkhave aṭṭhi/**4c**/mayaṃ dantamayaṃ 2 visāṇamayaṃ / dantamayaṃ(!)[3] / / veḍḍumayaṃ katthamayaṃ 5 / jatumayaṃ (6) / phalamayaṃ 8 / / lo/**5a**/hamayaṃ saṃkhanābhimayaṃ / suttamayan" ti 11 / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena bhikkhu gaṇṭhika[ṃ] pi pāsakaṃ pi /**5b**/ cīvare appenti. cīvaraṃ jīrati / / bhagavato / "anujānāmi bhikkhave gaṇṭhikaphalakaṃ pāsakā(!)phalikaṃ" ti / / gaṇṭhikaphalakaṃ /**5c**/ pi pāsakaphalakaṃ pi anti(!) appenti. kāḍḍo(!) vivariyati. bhagavato / / "anujānāmi bhikkhave (ga)ṇṭhikaphalakaṃ pā/**6a**/sakaphalakan" ti / gaṇṭhikaphalakaṃ pi pāsikaphalakaṃ pi ante appenti.

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[2] *rūpimaya* also occurs in Pāli, but very rarely (and by mistake?): DN II 178,31; cf. 124a4(!).

[3] For *nalamayam*.

koḍḍo(!) vivariyati. bhagavato[4] / "anujā/**6b**/nāmi bhikkhave ganthikaphalakaṃ ante appetuṃ, pāsakaphalakaṃ sattaṃgulim vā aṭṭhaṃgulim vā ogahetvā appetun" ti (/ / tha)/**6c**/ / / tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu gihinivatthaṃ nivāsenti hatthisoṇḍā(!)kaṃ macchavālakaṃ catukaṇṇā(!)kaṃ 3 /**7a**/ – – – tālavaṇṭakaṃ sattavalikaṃ 5 / manussā ujjhāyanti khi/**7b**/yyanti vipācenti: "seyyathāpi gihi kāmabhogino" ti. bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ: "na bhikkhave gihinivatthaṃ ni/**7c**/ vāsetavvaṃ / hatthisoṇḍakaṃ macchavālakaṃ 2 catukaṇḍā(!)kaṃ[5] 3 / tālavaṇṭakaṃ 4 / sattavalikaṃ 5 / yo nivā-

Folio 124b : Vin II 137,10 – 138,11

/**1a**/seyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu gihipārutaṃ pārupaṃti. manussā u/**1b**/jjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "seyyathāpi gihi kāmabhogino" ti / bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ / "na bhikkhave ⋞gihi⋟pāru/**1c**/taṃ pārupitavva[ṃ]. yo pārupeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena chavvaggiyā bhikkhu [saṃveli]/**2a**/kaṃ nivāsenti. manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "seyyathāpi raṃño muṇḍaveṭṭī" ti / / bhagavato etam atthaṃ ⋞ārocesuṃ⋟: "na bhi/**2b**/kkhave saṃveliyaṃ nivāsetavvaṃ. yo nivāseyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena chavvaggi/**2c**/yā bhikkhu ubhatokācaṃ haranti. manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti: "seyyathāpi raṃño muṇḍavaṭṭī" ti. bhagavato / / "na /**3a**/ bhikkhave ubhatokācaṃ haritavvaṃ. yo hareyya, āpatti dukkaṭassa / / anujānāmi bhikkhave ekatokācaṃ antara(!)kācaṃ /**3b**/ sīsā(!)bhāraṃ / khandhabhāraṃ kaṭibhāraṃ olaṃvakan ti 6 / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana sa(m̄)mayena bhikkhu dantakaṭṭhaṃ na khādanti. mukhaṃ /**3c**/ duggandhaṃ hoti / bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ / "paṃc' ime bhikkhave ādīnavā dantakaṭṭhassa akhādane: acakkhussaṃ mukhaṃ /**4a**/ duggandhaṃ hoti 2 / / rasāharaṇi(yo na) visujjhanti / pittaṃ semhaṃ / bhattaṃ pariyonandhati 4 / / bhattam assa nā(!)cchāde/**4b**/ti. ime kho bhikkhave paṃca ādīnavā dantakaṭṭhassa akhādane / / paṃc' ime bhikkhave ānisaṃsā dantakaṭṭhassa khādane: ca/**4c**/kkhussaṃ mukhaṃ na duggandhaṃ hoti 2 rasāharaṇiyo visujjhanti / / pittaṃ semhaṃ bhattaṃ na

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[4] The text is repeated by mistake from *anujānāmi*, 5c to *bhagavato*, 6a.

[5] Cf.(?) *nirvānda*, 51v4, verse 40 in: The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā ed. by J.P. Asmussen. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Bind 39, nr. 2. Kopenhagen 1961.

pariyona(ndha)[nti /] bhattam assa cchā(!)/**5a**/deti / ime kho bhikkhave paṃca ānisaṃsā dantakaṭṭhassa khādane / / anujānāmi bhikkhave dantakaṭṭhaṃ" ti / / pka/ /**5b**/ / pka / /(!) tena ko pana samayena cha<vviga>v-vaggiyā bhikkhu dīghāni dantakaṭṭhāni khādanti. ≪te≫h' eva sāmaṇere a(!)/**5c**/kkoṭenti / / bhagavato / / "na bhikkhave / dīghaṃ dantakaṭṭhaṃ khāditavvaṃ. yo khādeyya āpatti dukkaṭassa / / a<a>nujā/**6a**/ – – – nāmi bhikkhave aṭṭhaṃgulaparamaṃ dantakaṭṭhaṃ. na ca tena sāmaṇero ā/**6b**/koṭetavvo. yo ākoṭeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā" ti / / pka / / tha / / pka / / tena kho pana samayena aṃñatarassa bhikkhuno /**6c**/ atima(ṭa)hakaṃ dantakaṭṭha[ṃ] khādaṃtassa kaṇṭhe vilaggaṃ hoti. bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ / / "na bhikkhave a[

Concordance of the present edition, Bapat's edition and E^e

Folio [10]6a	Bapat I	Vin II 102, 27–103, 13 (106a4b–5c: Vin II 102, 24–102, 33)
Folio [10]6b	Bapat II	Vin II 103, 13–27; 87,2–87,16
Folio 107a	Bapat III	Vin II 87,16–88,4
Folio 107b	Bapat IV	Vin II 88,4; 103,29–105,17
Folio 108a	Bapat V	Vin II 105,17–106,12
Folio 108b	Bapat VI	Vin II 106,12–107,3
Folio 124a	Bapat X	Vin II 136,11–137,10
Folio 124b	Bapat Y	Vin II 137,10–138,11

Irregular correspondences between the Nepalese fragment and E^e are due to Oldenberg's abbreviations of the text.

Abbreviations

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
B^e	Burmese edition
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	F. Edgerton: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary. New Haven 1953
C^e	Sinhalese edition
CPD	V. Trenckner: A Critical Pāli Dictionary. Kopenhagen 1924foll.
DN	Dīghanikāya
E^e	European edition
GM	Gilgit Manuscripts. Ed. by N. Dutt. Srinagar 1942
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IT	Indologica Taurinensia
Ja	Jātaka
JAs	Journal Asiatique
JNRC	Journal of the Nepal Research Center
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society
KZ	Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (Kuhns Zeitschrift)
Mhbh	Mahābhārata
Mil	Milindapañha
Mittelindisch	O. v. Hinüber: Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick. Wien 1986. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 467. Band

PED	T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede: The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary. London 1921 – 1925
Sadd index	H. Smith: Saddanīti: La grammaire Palie d'Aggavaṃsa. Tables. Lund 1954, 1966
S[e]	Siamese edition
SHB	Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series
SN	Saṃyuttanikāya
Sp	Samantapāsādikā
StII	Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik
Sv	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī
Sv-pṭ	Līnatthavaṇṇanā
Vin	Vinayapiṭaka
Vism	Visuddhimagga
WZKSO	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

The system of abbreviation as used here has been adopted from the Critical Pāli Dictionary and from H. Bechert: Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien. Göttingen 1990. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-funden. Beiheft 3.

Index

Plate I Folio 106 a (Vin II 102,27 – 103,13)

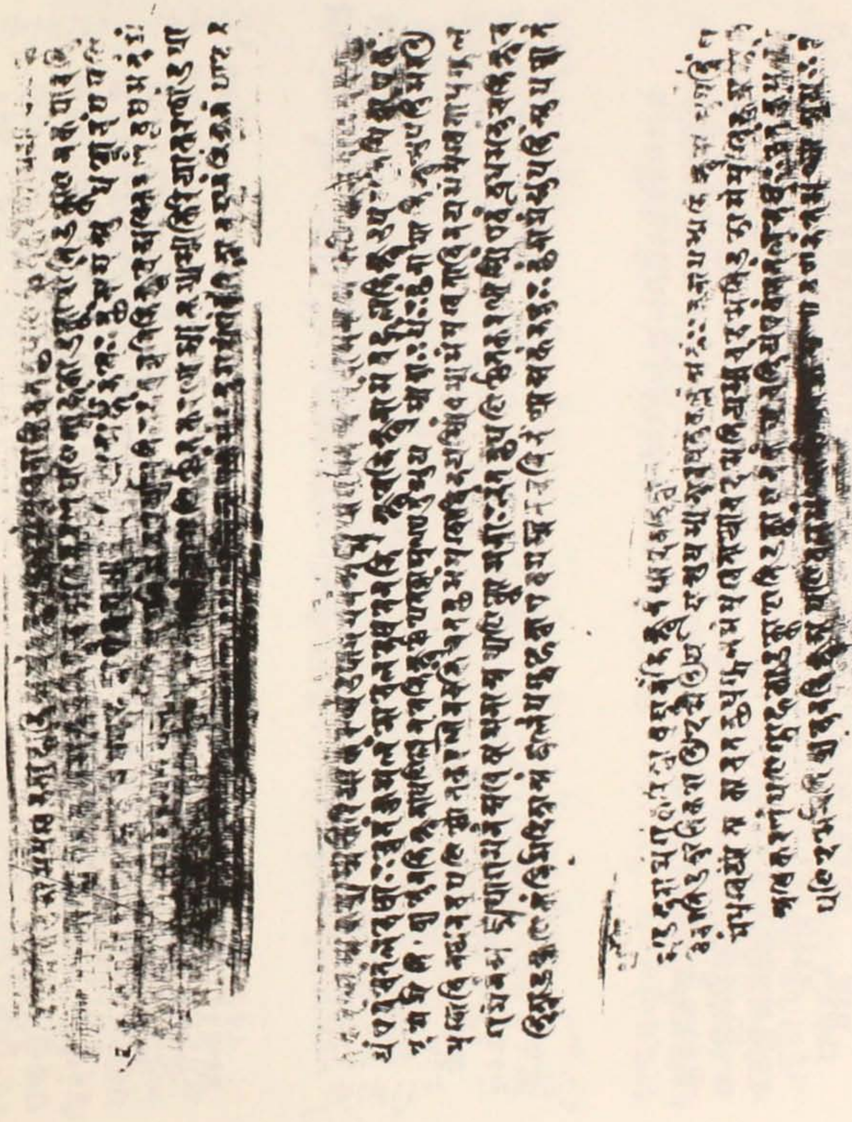
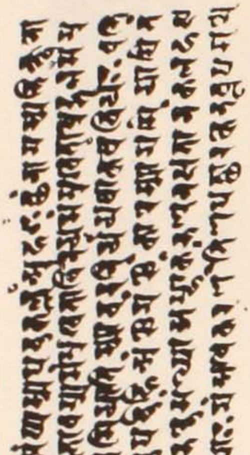
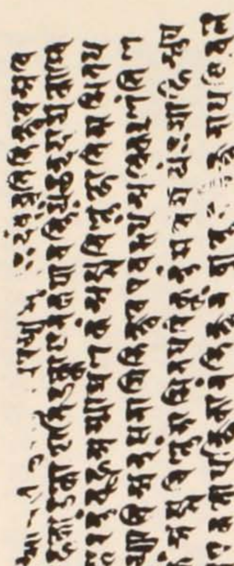


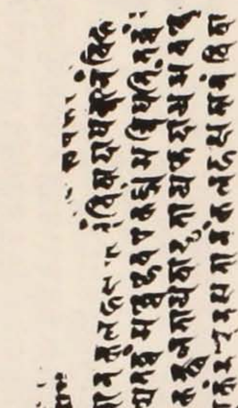
Plate II Folio 106 b (Vin II 103,13 – 27; 87,2 – 87,16)



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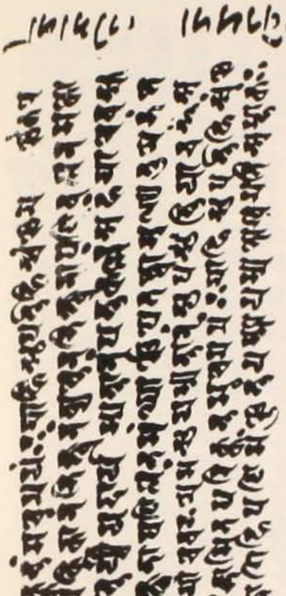


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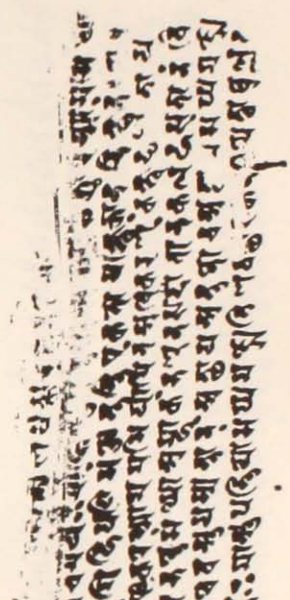
Plate III Folio 107a (Vin II 87,16 – 88,4)



a

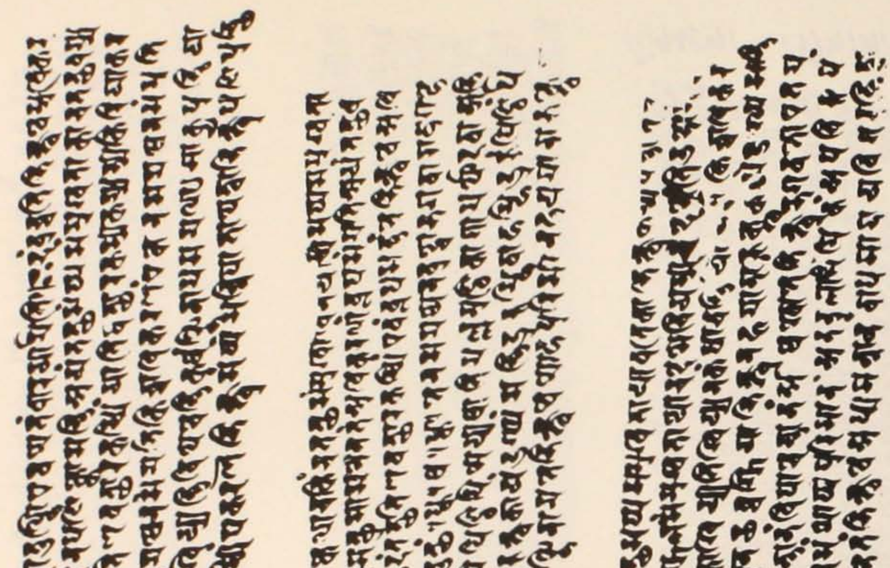


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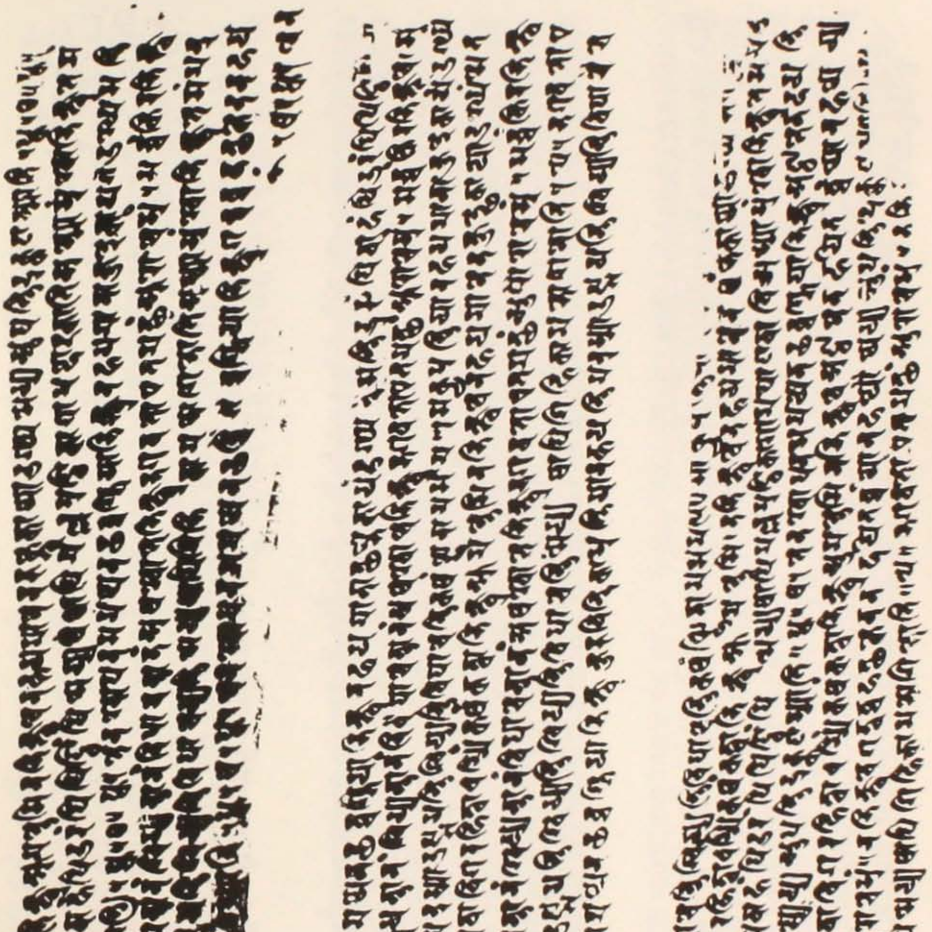
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Plate IV Folio 107b (Vin II 88,4; 103,29 – 105,17)



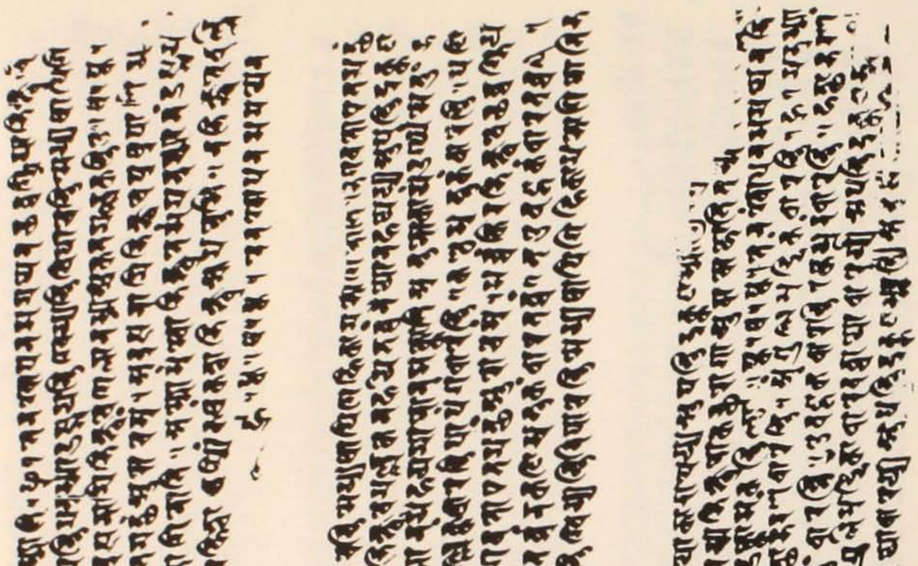
a b c

Plate V Folio 108 a (Vin II 105,17–106,12)



a b c

Plate VI Folio 108 b (Vin II 106,12 – 107,3)



a

b

c

Plate VII Folio 124 a (Vin II 136,11 – 137,10)

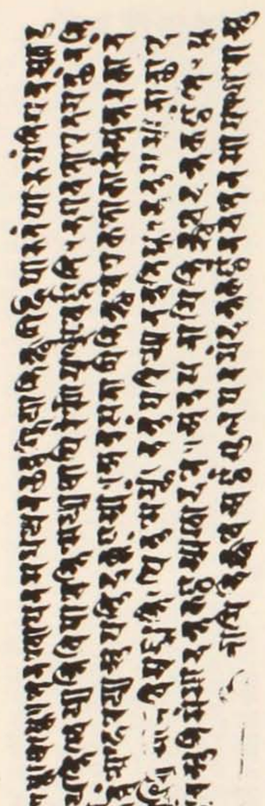


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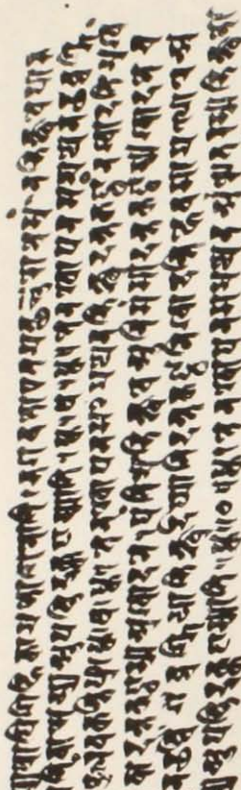
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Plate VIII Folio 124 b (Vin II 137,10 – 138,11)



a



b



c

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